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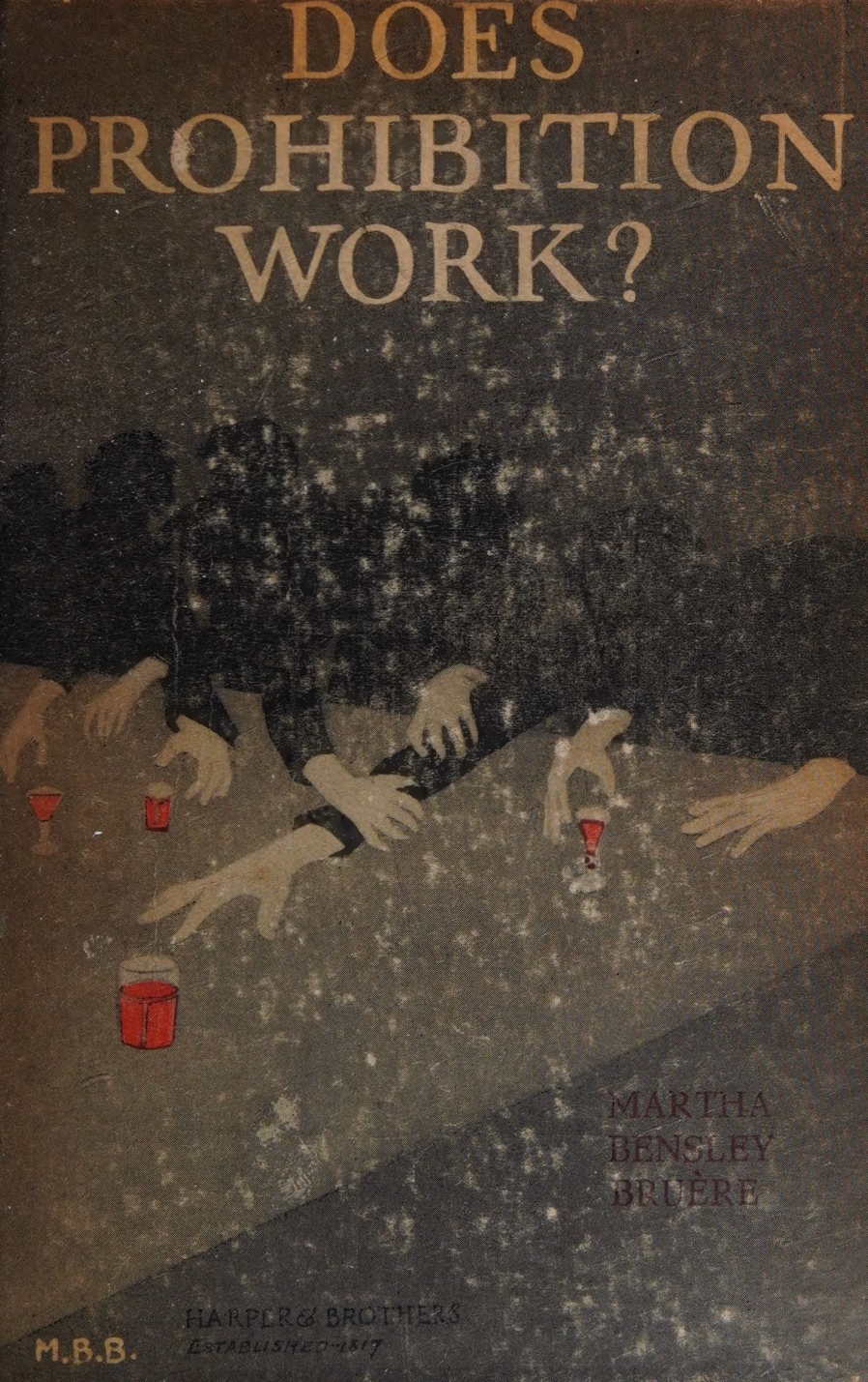

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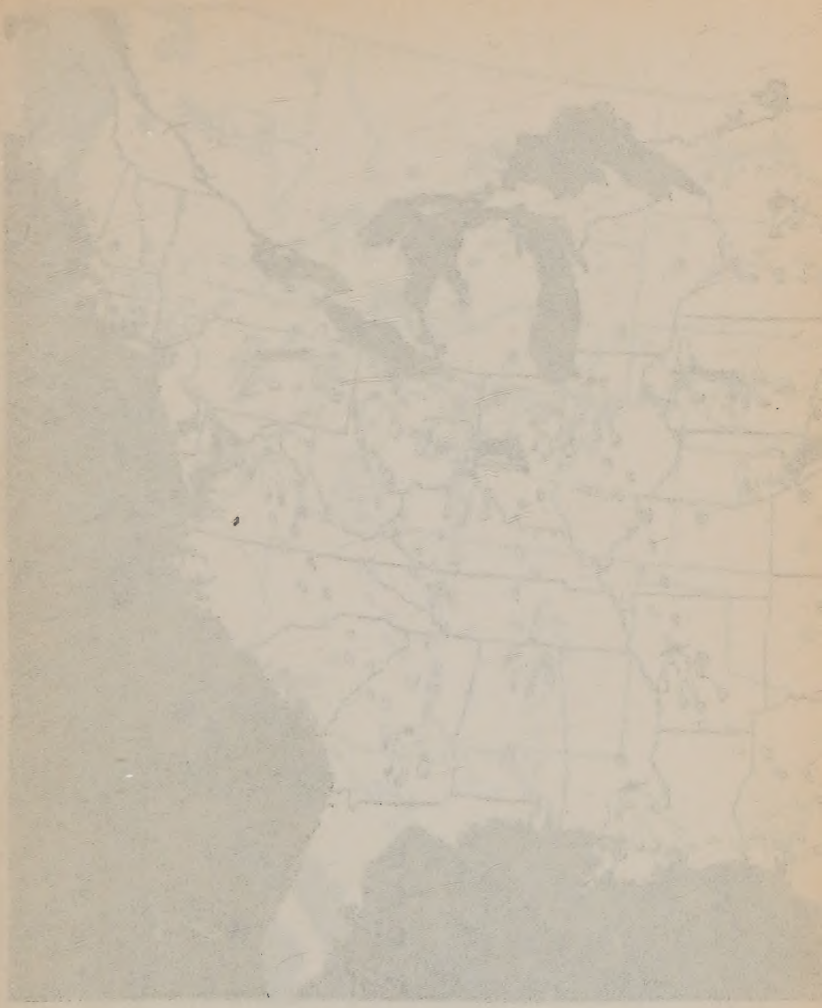

TELL TALE TRAILS

Legend:

THE SCANDINAVIAN DRIFT

THE GOLD RUSH

HEALTH PILGRIMS

THE NEGRO MIGRATION

THE COVERED WAGONS

THE MUSTARD TRAIL

THE MEXICAN INVASION

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

DOES PROHIBITION WORK?

A STUDY OF THE OPERATION OF THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT MADE BY THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS, ASSISTED BY SOCIAL WORKERS IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE

DIRECTOR OF THE STUDY

WITH A FOREWORD BY

LILLIAN D. WALD

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE

HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS

NEW YORK AND LONDON

1927

WITHDRAWN

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FOREWORD

In the month of May of the year 1926, travelers bound for the conference of the National Federation of Settlements at Cleveland discussed the recent congressional hearing on the drink question, and Dr. Haven Emerson's subsequent article in *The Survey* of May 15th, wherein he challenged the social workers to speak out.

In council the next day it was conceded that Dr. Emerson was justified in charging the settlements with failure to articulate for the public their observance of changes in neighborhood life accompanying the operation of this most significant social legislation.

There followed the appointment of a committee to investigate and to assemble authoritative information of such changes in family life as may be credited or discredited to the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Those who read the following pages will, of course, realize that this study attempts that and nothing more. It is solely an urban study and gives no evidence of the benefit or loss to students in colleges or schools, to the holders of large bank accounts, or to the criminal classes.

In this compilation there has been little attempt to prove or disprove the value of prohibition by statistics. That has been extensively undertaken by both sides of the controversy and with criticism equally destructive to both.

It seems worthy of record to add that there has been no desire to influence the interpretation of the data

gathered. Assurance of this can be based upon the opinion of the staff composed of a "wet," a "dry," and a "doubter"; and on the fact that the study was financed by personal contributions from believers on each side of the question.

The book is not a scientific study, but the realistic stories, conscientiously and carefully prepared by social workers in the settlements and by affiliated organizations from Maine to California. It should present a close-up view not possible in the argumentative presentations which have been offered to the public.

Should the testimony here gathered add a chapter of human interest to this most controversial of all amendments, the committee in charge could be easily encouraged to gather in the stories of the amendment as it affects rural and village life, for prohibition was born and raised in the country.

LILLIAN D. WALD,
Chairman of the Committee.

COMMITTEE ON PROHIBITION

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HARRIET E. VITTUM, *Northwestern University Settlement,* Chicago.

To the Committee:

This book is built on the 193 reports that have come as material for this survey. We found, on studying them, that just to know that people either did or did not break the law, that they were or were not prosperous or well or happy since the Eighteenth Amendment passed, meant very little. The important thing was to know why these things were so, to determine not only where we are now but what goal we are headed for. To discover this line of progress we had to know the point we had come from. Marion P. S. Kellogg has dug for these points of departure in histories and reports and statistical charts, and overlaid the map with the trails of the migrating groups who carried distinctive drink habits with them. Mary Field Parton has interpreted these out of her own experience and investigations. I think that the historic background is bullet proof and that the color will wash.

We have tried to follow your instructions and make this an appeal to those who get their information from newspapers and magazines, and to remember the plaintive cry of hard-pressed social workers:

"I hope this material will be used for some good purpose and not just more statistics!"

Plenty of us are like that! One statistic at a time is as far as we can go. We only assimilate facts with the original flavor—before denaturization. So this book is not a statistical report but an authentic document of professional opinion couched in the language in which

it came to me. Not one statement in it but was made by some social expert who was asked to contribute to the study; not one fact that we do not believe we have verified; not one quotation that is not from a signed report now on file in the office.

This book is as true as we can make it.

MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE,
Director of Study.

DOES PROHIBITION WORK?

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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

This study began with questions—those which people asked me and those I asked them. It has continued by this process for seven months, sometimes rising to the volume of an antiphonal chorus and sometimes sinking to the faintest blur of a wireless that can't quite come through:

"Do you find that conditions are better or worse?"

"Is there more or less drinking?"

"Is it true that boys and girls drink all the time?"

"I suppose the test would be the alcoholic wards—aren't there more in them than there were?"

"People who never drank before are drinking now—have you heard about Kansas?"

"Have you got a report from Maine? You know they have been trying it there for fifty years, but the last time I was in Bar Harbor, well ——"

"It's wonderful to live in a dry age! Isn't it inspiring to think of those young men who are growing up never having *seen* a saloon?"

"Do you find any place where it's working at all?"

"I suppose you have noticed what the papers say about rum raids. How do you account for them?"

"Don't you think that a law that makes people go blind from wood alcohol ought to be repealed?"

"How about everybody taking to drugs the way they are?"

"Do you think it's right to make a man pay $1.25 for a drink?"

"Can you see any democracy in the way they sneaked the amendment over while all the soldiers were away?"

"Don't you think it's *heavenly* to be in a city where there aren't any saloons?"

"When are they going to repeal the amendment, anyway?"

I was lunching in the New York Women's City Club, with a hot July wind blowing in. Other women who had to be in town in July were lunching languidly all about me. The secretary of a philanthropic organization leaned across from her table and said: "I'll tell you something for your prohibition study. A friend of mine went into Youngstown last week. You know Youngstown's one of those big steel places. Well, he got off the train and asked the first policeman he met where he could get a drink. What do you think the officer said to him? 'Do you see that corner to the right? Well, you go around there and the fourth door is a shoe-shine shop. That's the only place in Youngstown you can't get it.' That shows you, doesn't it?"

Fact or fancy, those things make public opinion, and, fact or fancy, people act on it.

"What do you know about the situation?" I asked Anne O'Hagan Shinn, who lives on the edge of a settlement neighborhood.

"Well, I can tell you something that happened to me. I sent to Greenwich House for a woman to clean and they sent me Mrs. Murphy, one of those refined, gentle

little Irishwomen that life is so hard on. 'Where is your husband?' I asked her. 'Oh, I ain't got him now! 'Twas the drink! Before the law, 'twas no more than jolly he got. Oh, Mrs. Shinn, 'tis a *contentious fluid* they do be givin' 'em now. He was that cruel to the children of a Saturday night that I said to him, Go!' "

For seven months now I have followed the trail of that contentious fluid.

It was in New York City that we planned the questionnaire with a view to answering the inquiries with which the air was filled. The committee brought to it what they believed to be real knowledge of the situation. Had there not been three periods—one before the passage of the law, then possibly three years when the law was reasonably well enforced and we saw what, if anything, prohibition could do, and the period since then, when enforcement had been more lax? The short period of enforcement was not perfect, of course, but at least it was a measuring rod. We worked out our little questionnaire with fifty-two questions, covering most of the phases of human experience as they might be supposed to have occurred in these three periods, and we sent them like a migrating flock of grackles to every settlement in the National Federation and to other organizations of social workers. Before resentment had time to rise, or the questionnaires to get themselves dropped into the settlement waste baskets, I started across the continent on a personal follow-up.

Any one traveling from place to place in this country feels public opinion blowing against him like a trade wind; it is heavy with what people say, with what newspapers print, with what the movies show, and with what looks back from the pages of the magazines.

The newspapers in Rochester were carrying as lurid headlines as Rochester could be supposed to tolerate: a rum raid, arrests for drunkenness, aspersions on the police force, nothing to do but confess our failure and repeal the law! With these in my mind, I went to see the police matron, who had been at her post for more than twenty years. There was no comparison, she told me; things were much better; nothing like so many poor young things brought in from the street now that liquor wasn't dragging them down. As between the press and the police matron, where was the Voice of the People?

Dining with an old friend in the station in Buffalo, I met public opinion again.

"The situation here is terrible. (Do put that cover on the sugar so that the flies won't get in!) Everybody gets it. One of my sister's friends was telling me the other night that he asked a policeman where he could get a drink, and the officer said the only place in town he couldn't get it was a millinery store."

Next morning the Buffalo papers told of deaths by poison alcohol. "Let Them Die," said one editor. "Save Our People," cried another.

Pittsburgh, smudging its smoke across the sunset like an artist's thumb spreading purple paint.

"See that row of buildings?" said Mr. Charles C. Cooper. "That used to be a solid row of saloons. Now there is a movie and an A. & P. store and it's a decent street."

"Vice and Rum Riot in Pittsburgh," said the morning paper.

On to Cleveland, clean, dry, its face just washed by rain. In my hotel, a staggering man being helped into the elevator.

"How's prohibition?" I asked the woman in charge of my floor.

"They tell me it's pretty bad," she said. "There was a gentleman just got in yesterday, and he asked a policeman where he could get a drink. And the cop told him that down in the next street was a little Jewish tailor—that was the only place where he couldn't buy anything."

"Nothing to drink served here," the head waiter told me at dinner.

Which of these is the Voice of the People?

"How's prohibition working?" I asked the taxi driver who took me to the University of Chicago Settlement.

"Failure, same's everywhere," he assured me.

That night a Polish woman took refuge in the settlement from a drunken husband. Next morning there was a hijacking and shooting story in the papers.

"I hardly dare say it, I hardly dare even think it, but I have been here thirty years, and it seems to me that the situation is a little better," Miss Mary McDowell said at the breakfast table.

The train for Minneapolis, and a square, gray woman in the diner telling me about her daughter's friends' evil ways.

"A gentleman told a friend of mine you could get it anywhere in Minneapolis except, maybe, in the Chinese laundries."

Getting into Minneapolis in the rain, the lights shining on the streets, which were like wet rubber—wide streets, washed clean. And then the quiet and serenity of East End Neighborhood House, where I caught up with our questionnaire.

CHAPTER II

THE UNITED STATES OF MINNESOTA

In the territory centering in Minneapolis and St. Paul a new act of national creation is in process. A variety of races within the Nordic and Slavic groups are being slowly welded into one people under the pressure of the twentieth century. And one of the elements in their amalgamation is the Eighteenth Amendment! The industrial hardships that accompanied the use of alcohol in the homelands of all these races are considerably mitigated in Minnesota and now the attempt to remove alcohol itself is being made. Does it work?

The people of these two cities look as we expect Americans to look—blond and blue-eyed and a bit given to bone—but they do not sound that way, for the blonds are Swedes and Norwegians, Finns and Danes, blond Poles and blond Germans, blond Canadians and blond English; and by way of decorative contrast, a few Russian Jews, Rumanians, Czecho-Slovakians, Austrians and Negroes. It is a city of not quite half a million, three-quarters of whom are native-born whites, and most of the foreign-born are of the races which we have been busy making into Americans for a century and a half. Cotton Mather and Roger Williams would have felt at home in a Minneapolis town meeting, had they not heard the confusion of tongues.

At home, too, in their occupations, which are like those

of a New England village, only amplified, organized, standardized, electrified and modernized. The village smithy has grown to the United States Steel Plant; the flour mill still stands on the edge of the stream, only the stream is the Mississippi and the miller is the group of companies who grind grain for half the world. Minneapolis and St. Paul sit at the head of the great valley which is the heart of America, as Concord sits on the Merrimac; and as the New Englanders once made their apples into cider so the people of the United States of Minnesota once made their grain into beer.

Minneapolis is like a New England village also in that it has not a tenement and no slums that anyone who knows the great cities of the East would recognize as such. Instead, the settlement neighborhoods are filled with comfortable wooden houses built perhaps fifty or sixty years ago, set each in its little yard and on its tree-shaded wide street. It is true that the houses needed paint, that there were sometimes pickets missing from the fences, that the gates hung by one hinge and that the grass was frequently uncut and the flower gardens neglected. They were, however, surrounded by space and light and air, conditions which mean luxury in New York. But in these houses, which had been respectable middle-class residences of two generations back, there were now living two, three, or four families, for the housing shortage has struck Minneapolis as it has struck the rest of the world.

What all the social workers testify to is that these new citizens are enjoying the rising standard of living. Whatever the cause of their prosperity—high wages, steady employment, increasing health education, restriction of immigration—there is no particular reason for

"misery drinking." Conditions, economic and social, are quite bearable as they are. The first reaction of these hardy, hard-drinking, but essentially law-abiding people shows in the reports.

"There always was a certain amount of protest against the prohibition law in this neighborhood with the ethnic background as it is. It is not surprising that the Slavic groups would protest against what they considered an infringement of their personal liberties. There was no organized group protest. However, the reaction of the different nationals with whom we come in contact was distinctly in opposition to prohibition. The war-time submission to the yoke of the government was responsible, I think, for the mildness and cautiousness of the protest that was so feebly made. They dared not speak too openly and the sign of the times was that such opposition as existed was to be mentioned only to intimate friends. The savings from liquor as well as from high wages in this neighborhood were spent chiefly on the articles used in clothing the family, in the building of new homes and in the remodeling of old homes. This remodeling took the form of stuccoing the house and adding sleeping porches. The number of homes that were stuccoed and to which sleeping porches were added was astonishing. The neighborhood began to take on an entirely different exterior aspect during this short period.

"It is generally conceded that there was a period of general well-being and small amount of poverty, but I think it was steady work and good wages—not because of less drink—because the same pre-war shiftless families still exist.

"Of course many resisted the amendment; some were all right, others declared for personal liberty, and there

was in the neighborhood comparatively little bootlegging."

The protest did not remain long in that passive stage. About seven months after the passage of the amendment, certainly within a year, the old folkways reasserted themselves.

"There is bootlegging and illicit manufacture in the neighborhood. We see it continually and smell it. The bootleggers do not use it, but sell it openly to anyone who wants it. Quite young boys peddle it."

Throughout the city the people have begun to make their own drinks and that without any great legal opposition. It is an art which has been in disuse since their ancestors came to this country. They have revived it, however, but the quality doesn't yet satisfy them. "Every year my woman makes it better," one of them told me. "Soon we have drink as good as Sweden." What they want is to make the United States of Minnesota as good as Sweden or whatever country they happened to come from. They have gathered together in their race groups; they have established their Lutheran churches; they speak their own language, and their great choral societies sing their own songs. They have every intention of being law-abiding and they make good, hard-working thrifty citizens, but to drink is one of their immemorial folkways. The old habits, centuries inbred, asserted themselves, varying with the race exactly as in other cities; for the Slavs of Chicago, of Omaha, or wherever they be, react according to their folkways. Into the homes came stills and home-brew outfits. The hardware stores sold them. From the American sections came the demand for their products.

The products were used also by the darker peoples,

particularly by the Negroes, of whom there are in Minneapolis nearly four thousand. I went with a settlement worker to the center of the worst Negro quarter of the city. Here in an ill-lighted back street the Negroes and the Whites are drinking together, men and women both, and they are not drinking beer or wine, but that contentious fluid which is the native manufacture and sells cheaply. Disorder, crime, rioting and street brawls!

"I do believe that there is a great deal of bootlegging and illicit manufacture of liquor at the present time," says one of the St. Paul reports. "This statement is based on the numerous arrests made for drunkenness and the number of convictions made in our local and federal courts for the manufacture and sale of liquor. It is also based on the fact that a great many clients make complaint of members of their families and neighbors drinking and selling liquor. As I look over my case-load at the present time, every relief case except three has 'drinking' as one of the family problems. In those three cases the man of the family is incapacitated."

A director of boys' and men's clubs sent us statistics which describe a curve dipping from 3,843 committed for drunkenness in 1913 down to 587 in 1920, and then sweeping upward to 3,691 in 1926. Not only is the number in 1926 practically the same as it was in 1913, but also the percentage of drunks to the total number committed.

Settlement workers interviewed all sorts of representative people in their neighborhoods. The proprietor of a hardware store said: "Financially people are in better circumstances. Practically everyone in the neighborhood is making moonshine and selling it; this accounts for the extra money."

A priest thought people defied the law because they felt they had a right to drink. Not the use but the abuse made it harmful—as did over indulgence in lemon pie. He thought conditions much worse. Now boys and girls are at times under the influence of liquor and bottles are found strewn around outside the school. Formerly there was no evidence of this at all.

A storekeeper believed that those people engaging in the manufacture and sale of liquor are the ruin of many families; in some cases of the husband, again of the young men and women. She knows a family, on the other hand, who made a trip to Europe and bought a car on "moonshine" money.

A policewoman thinks conditions are much better; that children are better clothed and fed, families more prosperous since 1918. There is less evidence of drunkenness on the streets now and fewer street women seen. Conditions are better because less money is spent on drink. The foreign-born are drinking more than the native born.

The assistant principal of a high school reported that before 1918 boys used to hang out on —— Street and come to classes under the influence of liquor. In the new High School, the principal says there has never been, to her knowledge, a boy in school under the influence of liquor. She thought things had improved in every way in spite of nonobservance.

The superintendent of a large railway repair shop declared that conditions are decidedly better. Men are much better off financially and in all ways. He said that prohibition has been a gain, but we must educate the people to it now; it is not legislation but education that we need to make it effective.

A man in the office of a brewing company said that

the brewing business has fallen off greatly during the past two years, due to the selling of moonshine in grocery stores. There are no licenses and restrictions now.

From a social worker in the Family Welfare Association comes the report: "The visitors of the family agency no longer see the 'bone-bare' poverty which they met occasionally before prohibition. There is less drunken brutality in families and much less filthy conduct in public. There are no corners which people avoid passing because of drunken men assembled there. Fewer young family men are drinking, though drinking among young boys and girls (high-school age) has increased. Drunken men rarely come to the district office; they are so infrequent that our present generation of workers do not know what to do with the few who do come. We have no cases of delirium tremens any more. We do feel gambling in conjunction with drinking has increased. The very secrecy of drinking places makes supervision more difficult. There is more chance for immorality at parties; at least, women now tell us they were given 'something' in liquor and then didn't know what happened after that. We did not hear that explanation before prohibition. In general, drinking among women has decreased. There are more drinking parties at home on holidays. The neighborhood esteem tends to make them more quiet than they might otherwise be."

Minneapolis and St. Paul are laced together by six gorgeous bridges. At night they are like so many strings of glittering diamonds strung across the Mississippi. But St. Paul is just a little different from Minneapolis, a little less industrial, a little less Nordic, a little quieter and more residential.

"Bootleggers are prosperous and seemingly protected

and buying the luxuries of civilization," writes an experienced worker. In this position she is upheld by a social worker for the Family Welfare Association, by high-school teachers and by the testimony of settlement neighbors. It is thought the police aid and shield the business.

What of youth growing up in the Twin Cities? Thirteen representative individuals were asked this question. Eleven of these thirteen answers are, in summary, that as far as youth is concerned, things are worse since the passage of the prohibition law. "Young people are drinking as they did not drink before prohibition," is their verdict.

To this statement Dr. William J. Johnstone, a minister of St. Paul, replies, "The so-called drinking among young people in our cities is a slander! There is not as much drinking among them as in the days of the old saloons."

CHAPTER III

THE HIGH PLAINS

THAT questionnaire, when I studied it on the train from Minneapolis, seemed to me inadequate. Certainly it was not a satisfactory thread to lead one through the maze of conflicting opinion as to how the amendment was actually working. It was too extensive on the one hand, and far too limited on the other. The prohibition situation as it had begun to unfold in Minneapolis was to be understood only as part of the general situation. Simply to say that there was bootlegging in your neighborhood and thus and so were the reasons that you believed it, did not seem to get at the root of the matter at all. The prohibition situation was not a dead thing; it struck its roots through public life; it was fed by diverse race groups; it was related to the occupation of the people; it hung on the flow of the Mississippi River, on the climate of the Mississippi Valley, which made it a place where Scandinavians felt at home, where their kind of farming would prosper and where their race drink habits would persist. Metaphorically speaking, I cast the questionnaire from me and went on unhampered through the region of little lakes into the American Belt.

It is the same land, geologically speaking, as that in northern Wisconsin. Some great immortal, looking down on this region from above and remembering back a million years or so, would know that these multitudinous

lakes are merely trifling pools left from that old inland sea which once covered the Mississippi Valley. Rivers have carried away the water century by century, and left old sea-bottom land of such richness as will grow incredible crops when the frost waits long enough for them to ripen; and incredible crops mean a prosperous people; and a prosperous people has no need to mitigate the conditions of life by drink. "Misery drinking" need have no place in this land of little lakes. In the United States of Minnesota, as a matter of fact, drinking does not have much place except as it is a hang-over of the old folkways which the people have brought with them from a time and place of hardships.

The route west from the Twin Cities is one hundred miles to the north of the Covered Wagon Trail—not the same people pushed along it, nor in the same way, nor for the same purpose. This migration was a gradual infiltration, a stand by this little lake, a farm on that fertile upland. The New England stock was in the vanguard, with the Scandinavian people close after.

One hundred and eighty miles west from Minneapolis this migration reached the Big Sioux River, an immemorial highway into the north. In South Dakota, near the corner of Iowa where the river holds up traffic by dropping one hundred feet in half a mile, thirty thousand people form the city of Sioux Falls. Except for the power from the river, the city would be no more than an agricultural center like the other cities of the state, but through the generosity of the Big Sioux it has industries and a group of industrial workers. South Dakota was admitted to the Union in 1889 as a prohibition state. There was considerable trouble in enforcing the law, and about 1896 a local option law was adopted; this con-

tinued until 1916, when the state by a majority of 10,000 voted into its constitution a bone-dry law. The city of Sioux Falls went dry by twenty-four votes.

Miss Estelle Jamison of the County and City Welfare Association, with the assistance of Mr. J. T. Sanders, reports on the prohibition situation there:

"At the time of this election the city of Sioux Falls had thirty-three licensed saloons. Liquor was served from the soda fountains in the drug stores, to anyone regardless of age or sex, in numerous clubs, in hotels and restaurants, and in a red-light district. Some few policemen died premature deaths because of the free liquor given them by saloon keepers; a chief of police died in this manner.

"In the days of the saloon there was established by charitable-minded persons what was called 'The Mission.' Every winter this place was filled to capacity with men who spent all their earnings in the saloon—sometimes as many as fifty down-and-out men of a night.

"Many saloons would put up elaborate suppers. Roast young pig, roast wild duck, oysters in season—rich and tempting food would be set before the laborer, and he, coming in hungry, would forget all about his wife and family and gorge himself while his family was suffering for the plainest of food.

"This meant that just as soon as a child could black boots, work as bell hop in the hotel, carry messages for the Western Union Telegraph Company, that child was thus employed. This evil was somewhat curtailed by the enactment of a compulsory educational law.

"The saloon was a gathering place for all the undesirables, not only of the city, but of the surrounding country as well; whenever a crime was committed the first

place to look for the criminal was in the saloon, and, if he was not located there, then the red-light district would be overhauled.

"There were at one time four regularly recognized red-light districts outside the business part of town. Beer always was sold there at one dollar per quart bottle, wines and other liquors at the same rate of profit. At one time the city reaped such large fines from the owners of houses of prostitution that it was possible out of them to pay a railroad a large bonus for coming into the city.

"Immediately after the state went dry, and before national prohibition, there was evidence of improved conditions among the people generally; this is to be ascribed to the disuse of liquor and not at all to the high wages.

"We had a law in this state which provided for checking up the habitual excessive drinker; any employer, any relative, any police chief, any city mayor, the county commissioners, could put an habitual drunkard on the 'black list.' This notice was served by the county sheriff on every place or person handling intoxicating liquors, prohibiting any sale to such blacklisted person. The black list did not work out so well, for the reason that while the blacklisted fellow had to keep out of crowds in the saloons, he could get some disreputable fellow to buy the liquor for him and, what is more, the most of the liquor sellers connived at this selling of liquor to blacklisted men; thus the law was to a great extent a failure."

The black list covering the twelve years between 1902 and 1914 contains 171 names, of which 90 are American, 34 Scandinavian, 20 Irish, 14 German, 6 French, 4 Scotch, 2 Italian, and 1 Jewish. Of the complainants, 24 were parents, 99 wives, 23 other relatives, 14 employers, and 11 officials.

"Now the great mass of these men are leading sober lives," says Mr. Sanders, "and the worst that might be said is that some of them occasionally make contact with a passing bootlegger.

"In Sioux Falls there were two liquor cures doing a thriving business. Both cures went out of business for lack of patronage with the advent of prohibition.

"Almost immediately with the advent of prohibition the schools in the city of Sioux Falls became overcrowded. Last year there was an enrollment at the high schools of 1,200 students, and mind you, the population of the city is only about 30,000. This indicates that 4 per cent of the entire population are attending high school. The grade schools are proportionately filled. In fact, since the advent of prohibition it is with difficulty that the city can provide the necessary school buildings to accommodate the school children.

"We have more crime now than in the days of the saloon, but much less disorder, due to the absence of drunken people on the streets and in public places. Police records show a tremendous falling off in the arrests for intoxication.

"Since the advent of prohibition the red-light district and the disorderly houses have passed out of existence. The necessity for a red-light district seemed to pass away when the saloon went out of business.

"The Scandinavians appear to be the dominant national group in this city. They are a type of people who drink alcohol and vote for prohibition. They are good men to put on juries where liquor violations are at issue. A jury composed largely of Scandinavians usually convicts liquor violators if the evidence is at all conclusive. We have some Irish in the city and it is the prac-

tice not to let jurors of that nationality sit on liquor cases, because their tendencies seem to favor the violation of the liquor laws. The same might be said of the Germans, especially of the old timers who were interested in the operation of saloons. The native American stock, that is, people whose ancestors came to this country several generations ago, as a rule are in favor of the enforcement of the liquor laws and, therefore, make good jurors in liquor trials. There are not many Jews in this city, but the few that we have seem to react very favorably to the observance of the liquor laws; while none of them is ever drawn on the juries, yet it can be said that none of them is ever mixed up in liquor violations. Since the closing of the saloons there has been very little trouble with the colored population. Prostitution and drunkenness among the colored people in this city have dropped to next to nothing; at any rate, the police do not seem to have the trouble with the 'bad niggers' they used to have in the days of the saloon.

"There is but very little bootlegging and illicit manufacture of liquor. The majority of the people are in favor of enforcing the liquor laws, and the sheriff and the chief of police are very active in running down bootleggers and stills.

"The poverty obtaining now can be ascribed wholly to the industrial situation and other causes outside of the use of alcohol.

"The families of the bootleggers are prosperous only while the bootlegger is at large, and that is usually not for long. As a rule, while the bootlegger is languishing in jail, his family becomes an object of charity. The activity of the bootleggers in this city is so limited that the amount of liquor sold does not appear to have any

effect on the community. Bootleggers do not remain in business very long, however. There is not enough illicit liquor consumed in this city to make any noticeable change in the general health of the community."

Of 22 men who were formerly saloon keepers or bartenders in Sioux Falls, 1 is dead, 1 has moved away, 1 is sick at home, 2 have retired on their incomes, 2 are packing-house laborers, 3 are in the real-estate business, and there is also a day laborer, a waiter in a café, an auctioneer, a janitor of a church, a baker, an operator of a lakeside resort, a truck farmer, a butcher, a grocer, a salesman of electric apparatus, and a secretary of a club.

"There is much complaint about the prevalence of drinking among young people of high-school age, but an investigation of such rumors always results in finding that such drinking is confined to a very few young people. In no instance has it been found that the young people are acquiring the drink habit; even if they should wish to, the source of supply is too limited. People will start rumors that drinking is more common now among young people than in the days of the saloon, that young women will not go with a young fellow unless he carries something on his hip; but the moment that the names of specific young women are demanded, at once comes the reply that, 'It is common talk; everyone knows the young people are drinking. I am only repeating what everyone is talking about.' Occasionally there will be a young man or a young woman picked up by the police in a state of intoxication, and on this rare occurrence people set up a clamor, but the only names they can furnish are the names of the ones whom the police have caught. Parents never admit that their own children carry something on their hips, or that their young daugh-

ter will not go out with a young man unless he is able to give her a drink of hooch on demand. There is no movement among the young people to counteract the habit of drinking, for the reason that there is no necessity for such a movement.

"The Irish, Germans, French, and Italians and the immediate descendants of these racial stocks are not very enthusiastic about the enforcement of the liquor laws. As a rule, they did not favor prohibition in any of its initial stages. The Italians are so few that, while they complain about being forced to do without wine, yet they observe the law fairly well. Only one Italian has been arrested for intoxication on homemade wine. The Jews are, also, few in numbers. There has been but one Jew arrested for misusing wine in the entire state. The Norwegians, Swedes and Danes are noted as alcohol drinkers; and while many of them are inclined to use liquor to excess, yet these same people will always vote against liquor and want the law enforced against bootleggers and moonshiners.

"The bootleggers and moonshiners have no political pull in this state whatever; not even the Democrats will get mixed up in any way favoring the relaxing of our state liquor laws. Our city and county officials, from the highest to the lowest, are all elected on dry platforms.

"There are some hold-over liquor addicts who insist on becoming intoxicated on canned heat, flavoring extracts and similar impossible drinks, but these people are as a rule the derelicts left over from the days of the saloon. They are rapidly passing and leaving no successors.

"Weeks pass by now in Sioux Falls without a single

arrest for intoxication; while during the days of the saloons on Monday morning there would sometimes be as high as thirty cases of intoxication to be tried by the Municipal Court.

"George W. Burnside, who was mayor of Sioux Falls twenty-one years, calls attention to the disappearance of the old-time saloon 'clean up.' Men who were down and out because of the drink habit, are no longer to be seen.

"Judge Gibbs, the present judge of the Municipal Court, emphatically says that the business transacted by his court is a sure index of the improved conditions of the citizens of this city, as compared with the days of the saloon.

"Dean Woodruff of the Episcopal Church says that since the outlawing of the use of liquor there is not the squalid poverty in this city that obtained before prohibition.

"The Hon. Mr. Gunderson, member of the legislature and candidate for United States Senator on the Democratic ticket, who lives at Vermilion, where the state university is located, says that there is not the drinking among the young people; you do not see any drunken people; you do not hear the boisterous and loud talk.

"George Boardman, sheriff of Minnehaha County, says that everybody knows that there is but very little liquor used now and that there are no people becoming habitual drunkards."

A Nordic-American city which appears to be really trying out the Eighteenth Amendment and finding it good!

Straight west of Sioux Falls, at the other edge of the High Plains where the Platte River comes through the Laramie Mountains, is the town of Casper—25,000

people, largely Nordic-Americans—agricultural, lumber, cattle and mining interests. Social work was not organized in Casper before prohibition.

Of the present Miss Isabelle Price of the Associated Charities says:

"We doubt whether a third of our cases of poverty can be traced to alcohol. The largest number of cases of poverty due to alcohol are old men, ranging in age from sixty to ninety years. They are men who have lived in the West all their lives, who were sheep herders, cattle punchers, and ranch hands, and who were used to liquor from boyhood. The majority of them were paid once a year and made a practice of coming to town and 'blowing' their money in gambling and booze. For this reason they are all practically penniless at this time, and when the infirmities of old age overtake them they become subject to county assistance. This office is not closely associated with people who actively engage in bootlegging. They seem to get along somehow, without appealing to charity, but still that class of people is not considered prosperous. This is probably due to the fact that there are too many grafters getting a share of the profits."

North over the High Plains of Wyoming lies Montana. Twenty-six hours my train took to cross the state, twenty-six hours during which I saw increasingly what an industrious river system bent on drying up a country can actually accomplish. The geese from the north, flying south, in September hurry on by Montana. In the middle of Montana the fertile belt on the edge of the watercourses is not more than a foot wide, and there are plenty of places where the bare brown land ends at the edge of the water in a sharp line. It must be a terrible thing to be a grass-eating mammal and find oneself in-

advertently born into a place like that! This is the land of the dry farmer, the land where it takes courage to put seed into the ground, even though they say that dry farming in a good year is not so very bad. The towns in Montana are far apart. There will be a little store with the square false front, a few little houses, and a road going off into the distance somewhere with a pale, dusty automobile on it. Montana must be the place where all good Fords go when they die.

The land lifts and lifts all day long, and at last it comes into the country of the buttes and mountains and the High Plains are broken into the copper country. Here the train circled around and the porter came hurrying through. "Look!" he said. "There are the lights of Butte." And there lay before me a great diamond pendant such as the old Earth Goddess might have worn—a perfect oval of glittering light and one long slender chain of diamond beads to hang it up by. I am glad that I saw Butte first as this lovely jewel of the night. In the daytime there is no green thing in the city nor anywhere around it, for this is the Anaconda copper country. The fumes of the smelters are as hard on vegetation as absolute drought. Butte is not dry, alcoholically speaking, but a trained social worker who was there during the summer says that it is drier than it was, that in spite of raw foreign labor coming into the mines, the accidents are few and the general law and order improved.

Mrs. J. G. McDonald, of the W. C. T. U., says that before prohibition there were three hundred open saloons and as many blind pigs. Now the merchants say that bills are paid more promptly and the bankers say that there are more savings deposits. This is obviously not due to higher wages, because the purchasing power is

much less. There were three drink cures operating in the city before the amendment; now they are all closed. There is "lots of bootlegging," but in spite of it crime and lawlessness are said to have decreased and the general well-being is higher.

"I can account for the last contest, making the state seem wet only by the fact that it rained on election day," a special investigator told me. "A man thinks twice before he rides from twelve to twenty miles on horseback over Montana roads in the rain to cast a vote that has no influence on the national situation anyway. Oh, Montana's dry!"

Beyond Butte, the High Plains break themselves more and more into mountains. One gets beyond the region where even the dry farmer will try out an existence, where nothing but the hope of riches in the mine will make men stay. On, up, and by—and then over into the Inland Empire.

CHAPTER IV

THE INLAND EMPIRE

An old sea bottom, now a domain rich beyond the calculation of so canny a statesman as Daniel Webster, who opposed its annexation, is our Inland Empire of the Northwest. This includes most of Idaho and a little of Washington and Oregon. The covered wagons rolled into this fertile country, dropping settlers along their course—white settlers of Nordic stock. A gold rush in the 'sixties brought in eager hordes of immigrants, Nordic, for the most part. These sturdy, lanky, blond folk cleared land, hewed forests, planted, took metal from the mountains, harnessed rivers for irrigation and for the driving of the wheels of industry. Cities rose, centers for trade and exchange. They remained Nordic as to race dominance; Puritan in matters of conscience.

The population of Idaho in 1920 showed 425,668 persons, with 40,747 foreign born; there were 4,451 English, 4,143 German, 4,954 Canadian, 5,112 Swedish, and 1,410 Irish.

At the southern end of the Empire, half a mile up in the tablelands, sits Boise City, still a frontier town, connected with the outside world only by a branch railroad and stage coach. Around Boise City live ranchers, homesteaders, dry farmers, orchardists, shepherds, cowboys, workers in irrigation ditches and power plants. In the days of the saloon these men, leaving the women and

children at home, used to come roaring into Boise on Saturday nights as they did into other frontier towns. They were men who worked on lonely isolated jobs and were hungry for companionship. To and fro the saloon doors were swinging till Monday morning.

"Boise City was the only place in southern Idaho not already dry through local option when the state went dry in 1916. Therefore, Boise ought to reflect the utmost of wetness that there might be in the state," says the Honorable Ern G. Eagleson, mayor of the city, "and yet, with double the population, but 10 per cent as many officers were required for liquor-law enforcement in 1925 as were necessary in 1910.

"There is just one material factor the 1910-to-1915 law-enforcement officials had to contend with that no longer exists. This was the intoxicating-liquor business that was operated through 26 licensed saloons, 7 licensed wholesale liquor houses that employed several delivery wagons in their exclusive use, 11 permits for the sale of liquor in drug stores—44 places where liquor could be purchased. The number of liquor cases has decreased from 1,162 in 1910 to 322 in 1925."

A social worker, homesteading on the edge of the city, told us that after prohibition clapped to the swinging doors of Boise's saloons, a wave of religious enthusiasm swept in upon the city. Men went to church. Women and children had better clothes and they went in increased numbers to the churches. The circuit rider, the evangelist, the exhorter came and got a following. The Holy Rollers grew in numbers. Fords appeared in front of isolated ranch houses and the whole family drove to church in them. The church grew and became a social center. Radios connected lonely farms with the big

cities. Bank deposits increased. The mail-order houses sent better clothes into the homes.

Speaking of conditions as they exist today, Mrs. Mabelle Keyser, City Welfare Director, says that there is still illicit manufacture and sale of liquor, that minors drink in the spirit of daring. She bases her opinion on the fact that arrests for liquor violations are still made.

But the mayor takes issue with her. "While I realize that this is quite a generally accepted view of the situation, not only by the police and others, I doubt very much if that is the actual case. It is almost impossible to get figures on such a matter. Drinking and sexual errors have always been indulged in by the youth in a much greater degree than by those older than that age.

"The Mexican beet-field workers have introduced a new problem—the smoking in cigarettes or pipes of mariajuana, or grifo. Its use is as demoralizing as the use of narcotics. Smoking grifo is quite prevalent along the Oregon Short Line Railroad, and Idaho has no law to cope with the use and spread of this dangerous drug."

"You will be interested in this story from Boise City," said Mary Parton. "When I was there a man told me he had just asked a policeman where he could get a drink. 'You see the second turn to the right?' the officer said. 'Well, go down there and the fourth door is a milliner shop. That's the only place you can't buy it.' This is the way it is in Boise."

The social workers say that men still make liquor at home from the fruits of their orchards; there is moonshine in the mountains, but drinking under the eyes of the womenfolk is not the same as drinking under the encouraging eye of the old bartender. When the chinook stirs the poplars and the men from the mountains come

down to the city, the movies blossom where saloons once invited. Department stores display new fashions and utilities, for the women come now with their husbands for a Saturday in Boise. The honking of auto horns has taken the place of the cracking of pistols in this Western town.

As Boise City focuses the southern part of the Inland Empire, so Spokane, the City of the Sun across the border in Washington, focuses the northern section. The city is new—even newer than Boise City—for it was not till 1874 that there was any permanent settlement there. It is distinctly an American town, even more so than Boise City. The city parks are full of little blue-eyed, brown-haired children and tall, lanky parents. It was a covered-wagon town. The lumberjacks came drifting into it from the forests and the Indians from the reservations.

"Your questionnaire rather embarrasses me," said a social worker in Spokane. "You see, alcohol is no longer a special problem with us. We had state prohibition in 1914 and national prohibition made no difference to us. We have very few foreign born; we haven't had lately a boom of prosperity to account for any extra luxuries, and we are not an industrial city, so that your Eastern problems, your Southern race problems, are not ours."

The social workers took pains to interview responsible people who remembered pre-prohibition conditions. The consensus of opinion is that conditions among their clients have improved. The problem has sifted down from a general economic one to a social and moral one among the young people. There were formerly saloons into which boys and girls went and from which they came out in an "intoxicated condition." As far as out-

ward appearances go, conditions have decidedly improved.

There are but three active cases in which the main factor was bootlegging, on their files. One is the family of a bootlegger who came from Idaho, where he had served a prison term for a similar offense, and who is now in the county jail. The second is that of an Italian, whom his friends call a "landscape gardener," but whose real job is cleaning up lawns and raking leaves. He was caught operating a still on the side and is serving a sentence, while public charity supplies clothes, food, and fuel for his wife and five children. The third case is that of a couple, both over ninety, dependent upon their grandson, once known as the "king of the bootleggers," who is now in jail.

Drunkenness on the streets is practically unknown and they believe that another generation may be able to measure results.

"Ninety-seven per cent of the bootleggers we take up ain't white men," said an enforcement officer, and by that he meant they were "foreigners" and not Americans. "Spokane is reasonably dry and is growing drier."

Since the report from Spokane came in, a letter tells me that a group of people, including some public officials, have been indicted for conspiracy to violate the prohibition laws. Spokane has apparently no intention of letting the situation get out of hand.

Spokane is a wide, clean, serene city with no smoke, no slums; 80 per cent of her people own their homes. Enormous water power is at her door, and the enormous power of the Nordic—the all-American—with his Puritan traditions and dry convictions enforces the Eighteenth Amendment in this capital of the Inland Empire.

CHAPTER V

THE MOUNTAINS

South of the Inland Empire the high Sierras cross and crisscross. They divide populations from one another, interests and occupations. Mountains, deserts, and tablelands know both solitary prospectors and city populations. Here lies a wilderness tamed by religious devotion; there is a wilderness not yet tracked except by wild creatures. Here is a man's world and men's work. Can prohibition be enforced under these physical and psychological conditions?

Colorado, in a revolt against the saloon, went dry in 1914. The dry votes came largely from the small towns and cities with a Nordic population, from the agricultural districts and financial centers. Labor generally and the mining camps of southern Colorado were wet. Here are populations from the south and east of Europe and from Mexico. It was believed by many that the elimination of the saloon would diminish labor troubles, which at times, in the Colorado Fuel and Iron mines, had developed into veritable warfare.

Today, reports from the social workers show the old lines of cleavage. The press of the cities and rural districts is dry and for enforcement. The mining camps are relatively wet and the rank and file of labor is for modification. Labor's leaders tend to copy the bosses—to speak "dry." Denver's local enforcement problem is

complicated by the fact that the city is a Mecca for conventions, for great hordes of summer vacationists, for a transient population which brings in a personal interpretation of the law. There is further complication by the winter hibernation of hundreds of Mexican beet-field workers in the city. To them bootlegging is not a serious crime.

"We believe," writes Mrs. Anna G. Williams of the Denver Social Service Bureau, "that while rum was a great disturber of domestic peace, it was but a minor cause of poverty. Prisoners in making application for parole used to state that they were intoxicated at the time they committed their crimes. Among the poorer families statistics show greater savings and a higher standard of living."

The report from a social worker of Boulder is enthusiastic. Here is the state college and here there has always been local option.

"In a recent election, Colorado overwhelmingly defeated the attempt to change the Volstead Act. Colorado may not be entirely satisfied with prohibition enforcement, but it is not entirely satisfied with the divorce laws, either. Burglary still goes on, but we do not repeal the laws against it because they do not operate. Boulder has no recent comparisons to make, for it refused to consider saloons for years, but the surrounding towns, particularly mining camps, were hotbeds of drinking and vice. Boulder escaped the delirium tremens, poverty, crime, undernourished children, and dirt of the surrounding mining camps where saloons flourished."

"The only noticeable effect of state prohibition, which came in 1914, was the decrease in the number of homeless men," writes Mr. Justin L. Hills of the Colorado Springs

Associated Charities. "And we felt that in all probability this was because the men who were making their transcontinental tours followed the northern route through Wyoming, which had remained wet, or the southern route through wet New Mexico."

Colorado Springs, since its founding in 1871, has always had a clause in all deeds that no intoxicating liquors shall be manufactured, sold, or otherwise disposed of in any public place or upon any premises within the city of Colorado Springs. An infraction of this law causes the property to revert to the original owner.

"Therefore," Mr. Hills writes, "with the enactment of national prohibition there was no noticeable change in the family problem. Probably the amendment has had no effect one way or the other in the amount and nature of crime and disorder in this distinctly American town, where public conviction is wholly on the side of law enforcement."

Just as Colorado is made sectional by its geography, so is it made sectional by religion, by industry, by race. It is natural that the enforcement of prohibition should also show sectional differences. The Klan, Protestant and dry, has fought the Catholics, fought "wets," fought "foreigners." Issues have become confused by the injection of extraneous factors. A "dry" foreign miner is driven into the camp of the "wets" to protect himself from junker Americanism. An American with sentiments for a modification of the Volstead Act is driven into the camp of the "drys" because of the attack on his religion. This confusing of interests, this blending of hatreds, has divided the state in factional allegiances and complicated considerably law enforcement.

In southern Colorado, among the coal and metal

miners, and in the beet fields among the Mexicans, there is widespread feeling that prohibition was imposed upon the workingman by the mine-owning class and large employers who thought thereby the better to control and further to exploit him. They see the law unequally applied; the homes of the workingmen unlawfully entered, judges holding that if liquor is found the entry was justified. They know the homes of the financially powerful are safe against such raiding. With the knowledge that the interests which they have so long fought in their struggle for wages and protection are publicly dry and often privately wet, labor has always been antagonistic to dry laws, and officers without the backing of public sentiment find enforcement in mining camps extremely difficult. Lonely gulches and isolated ravines furnish places, as in the mountains of Kentucky, for the manufacture of "moonshine," and people used to hard liquor as well as to drudging labor are resistant to the Eighteenth Amendment.

Enforcement officers in Colorado have geographical barriers on their side. Colorado is as isolated as an island from the mainland of bootleggers. North of the state are mountains and barren plans; east of it are driest Kansas and sparsely settled Oklahoma; south is New Mexico with its deserts and sandstorms; west is Utah, dry Mormon territory. With the militant Klan, with newspapers, with great financial interests, with a large Nordic-American population, with an arid boundary, all on the side of the Eighteenth Amendment, Colorado's enforcement problem should not be so difficult as that of other mountain states.

As Nevada's, for instance. The census for 1920 gives Nevada's population as 77,407, scattered over 84,990

square miles—seven-tenths of a man to a square mile. The bulk of this population is in Reno and a few other towns. Painted deserts, with twisted Joshua trees and uncanny cactus plants, lonely and solitary; weird deserted mining camps, before whose wind-swept saloons are heaped dust-covered mounds of empty bottles; empty hotels bespeaking the gorgeousness of the gold days; a divorce colony; a surplus male population; the warm earth like the sleeping beauty awaiting the magic kiss of water; cattle and sheep in roving thousands on the watered tablelands; space; horizons; elbow room, a mile either side of each man's elbow—that is Nevada.

What of Nevada's attitude toward the Eighteenth Amendment? In November, 1926, Nevada, in a vote of 12,500 as opposed to 3,290, demanded that a constitutional convention be called for amending the Volstead Act. Nevada further said, in a vote of 11,840 as against 3,350, that "experience has demonstrated that the attempt to abolish recognized abuses of the liquor traffic by the radical means of constitutional prohibition has generally failed of its purpose."

This is the conclusion of the desert state with a surplus male population after eight years of national prohibition.

According to Mrs. F. E. Humphrey of Reno, a former social worker, the net gain of prohibition is that the saloon is done away and with it the treating habit. Alcohol was only a minor cause of poverty and many of the social and economic troubles of other states "are not real troubles here."

As regards youth, Mrs. Humphrey says that "the situation is much worse than before prohibition. It is now the smart thing to carry a flask. Nobody respects a law that cannot be enforced. The danger of blindness is a

menace. There are 'rings' everywhere and anybody can get liquor." Mrs. Humphrey, herself a club woman, says that many mothers' clubs feel a grave mistake has been made and the majority of people who voted "dry" want the law amended to governmental control.

"I come in contact with all classes of people and I have yet to find *one* who thinks it possible to have a 'dry nation.'"

Mrs. Humphrey and her husband voted dry. They are large employers of ranch labor. Many of their workers used to go to town on Saturday night, drink their week's wages, and be back Monday morning. Now they do the same, but are never able to return to work Monday.

Other social workers give a different picture. Mrs. M. L. Macauley, executive secretary of the American Red Cross, says: "I do know that many families who knew no comfort under the saloon conditions, whose earners spent every dollar obtainable drinking and left their dependents to be fed, clothed, and cared for by charitable organizations or kind neighbors, now are independent. They buy food, clothing, and small luxuries, enjoy the movies, go into the higher grades in school, and are generally progressive.

"While we hear of the cases of bootlegging all too often to suit law-abiding people, they are really not numerous when compared with the great bulk of our people who are going along, without a thought of stepping backward after the big move forward.

"The poverty we are meeting in our work here in Reno is largely due to the restless spirit bred by unemployment. Many unsuccessful people, believing that another locality will afford better opportunity, buy cheap cars and start out. Result: greater poverty and need

for help elsewhere. Drink does not enter into our cases. Of old it was the great trouble. All of the causes contributing to poverty cannot begin to furnish the trouble that was due of old to drink alone."

The principal of the Reno high school, Mr. E. Otis Vaughn, says: "I know from my experience, dating back to 1907, that there is very much less habit-forming drinking. I believe that prohibition has been very successful, when we consider the slight hold that the liquor habit has on our young people today."

With this conclusion, Mr. J. A. Fulton, director of the Mackay School of Mines, connected with the University of Nevada, agrees: "At our meeting of deans of the different departments here in the University last Monday, I asked the assembled deans what their opinion was as regards the beneficial results of prohibition here in the University among the student body. The replies were all of a uniform nature, namely that the student body was much more orderly, that there was much less evidence of drinking at dances and at other gatherings, and that the opinion of the deans was that there was no question that the Eighteenth Amendment had been very beneficial to this student body."

Nevada, in the orderly way provided by democratic government, in a vote of over three to one, says prohibition has failed—Colorado by the same test says it is a success.

CHAPTER VI

NEW AMERICA

After the Inland Empire and the mountains, after the dry lands east of the Cascade Range, to reach Seattle and find rain! Rain in long slanting lines that cut out the bay and left the city a mere series of cubic blocks set up and down the sides of steep hills. Rain which, together with their wonderful harbor, was the reason why the people of the covered wagons had pushed on past the unrecognized fertility of the Inland Empire, forded the Snake River, struggled through the mountain passes, and made a settlement at Seattle as early as 1852. Seattle had combined the diverse elements that created the lumber interests, the shipping interests, and the descendants of the early settlers into a fairly coherent American city enjoying a crisp clear-cut prosperity when, in 1914, the state went dry. It was not an excessively rich city; wages were not then, and are not now, as high as in the East; there is always some unemployment and the great industrial boom that Seattle has waited receptively for has not yet come. But the city has one great advantage—it has taken on its metropolitan civilization at a point where the cities of the East have left off theirs—it profits by experiments it has not made.

There is no settlement in Seattle in the sense that there is a group of social workers living in a crowded, congested quarter. This may be due to the fact that in the Eastern

sense there is no congestion or crowding. As in Minneapolis, there are districts abandoned by the well-to-do where houses are converted into lodging houses, sometimes occupied by two or three families. But the rows of tenements of the Eastern industrial cities are unknown on the Northwest coast. The poor as well as the rich have space for yards and for sunlight and air. It is true that congestion inside these buildings is sometimes as great as anywhere in New York City, but it is impossible to think of such a thing as a "lung block" there.

Aside from one Educational Center, the social service of Seattle is in the hands of the Social Welfare League, which is Seattle's answer to unemployment and poverty. It is an organization of young eager people who are taking on their social work in the same way that the city has taken on its construction, at the place where the cities of the East have left off. The Social Welfare League undertook to make the study of prohibition by interviewing prominent and reliable citizens of varying types who had been in Seattle long enough to make comparisons. The following is the list of people interviewed: superintendent of city hospital, captain of police department for twenty years, chief of police for twenty years, policewoman, Women's Protective Division, grade-school superintendent, three high-school superintendents, girls' adviser at high school, judge of Superior Court, newspaper woman, water-front employer, druggist and resident of Seattle for twenty years, Commissioner of Labor and Industries, two business men, head of Lutheran Mission, real-estate man and old-time resident of Seattle, dentist, doctor, social worker of long residence in Seattle.

During the Klondike rush in 1896 Seattle was considered an open town. Men going to and from Alaska spent

a great deal of money in saloons and disreputable houses. Hundreds of men would come into Seattle from the lumber camps, where they had been for months, and in a single night or week lose all their earnings in the saloons, gambling and drinking. In the mills in Seattle the men returning from their work and having to change cars would cash their pay checks in the corner saloon, and by the time they reached home would have very little left. There was much rivalry in the saloon business and there were men outside soliciting business and stopping the workingman on his way home, inducing him to come into the saloon. Before state prohibition Seattle had a restricted red-light district south of Yesler Way. There were saloons on every corner and three or four in a block. People spoke with bated breath of "south of Yesler Way," and women did not go into this district except on special missions. Most of the disorderly houses were here and the women in the houses sold liquor openly. It was a common sight to see drunken men reeling along the streets and drunken brawls were very frequent. Since prohibition that has all changed.

The people interviewed made little distinction between state and national prohibition. In general, there was a decided change for happiness and well-being due to higher wages and better school-attendance laws, as well as prohibition. A director of the Lutheran Mission in the downtown district expressed himself as feeling that conditions in his neighborhood were vastly improved since the passage of the law. They have few men coming to the mission showing signs of intoxication and the near-by streets are comparatively free from drunken men, whereas in the past they were everywhere in evidence. Doctors and dentists, also, believed conditions improved, and

school teachers found parents more inclined to coöperate with them.

The Commissioner of Labor and Industries, when interviewed, reported that figures on accidents in all lines of work, particularly in logging camps, showed a marked decline since prohibition, and reported that the loggers were living in better quarters, on a higher plane, and were generally better off than before.

The superintendent of the city hospital felt that conditions were better. One man interviewed believed that the use of drugs had largely increased, but a druggist of long residence in Seattle said it was all "hot air," that there were fewer drug addicts and much less drugs being brought into the city. One judge could not see that their use had increased or was related to prohibition. Much less dope was peddled and in use along the water front, according to an employer of longshoremen; and one man in charge of pawn shops had also noticed a decrease. A business man stated that dope is causing more trouble than ever before, but that the number of dope fiends does not begin to compare with the number of drunkards in pre-prohibition days.

As to an increase in crime, both the chief of police and a police captain agreed that conditions were improved and did not wish to return to pre-prohibition days. One judge, who was chief of police during 1914 and before that was member of the City Council, said that many criminal charges are for drunkenness which would not have been called so in earlier days; for instance, a man whose breath smelled of liquor, driving an automobile, would be arrested now, even though he was not drunk. Automobile crimes, of course, have increased with the use of automobiles.

One judge and a policewoman agreed that there were fewer women soliciting on the streets than formerly; some drinking still existed in dance halls, but the movies seemed to be crowding the dance halls out. Half a dozen cabarets which were flagrantly immoral have been closed and there are fewer disorderly houses.

There was a general belief that considerable bootlegging is going on, but no one had very definite information. There had always been bootlegging in Seattle, in the old days by a disreputable lot of people, now by some of the so-called better class. One man who had had a great deal of experience with casual labor thought bootlegging was not on the increase.

Many mothers and children are working today, but different factors enter into this, such as general restlessness, the greater independence of women, high cost of living, low wages of men, and the desire for luxuries. Health conditions on the whole are improved; the hospitals do not have any more cases brought in than before prohibition, and very few women are brought to the hospital as a result of alcohol. There was more suffering from poisonous liquors, but less from delirium tremens, and few deaths from the former. In the past there was hardly a week when there was not a death in the saloons of a certain district downtown, and conditions were far worse than at present.

As to the question of young people drinking there was difference of opinion. A judge said the present drinking of minors is much exaggerated and there is not much drinking in defiance of the law; a policewoman thought there was more drinking for smartness, but that it was not habit-forming. A high-school principal and a girls' adviser believed there was a great improvement

over pre-prohibition days. Their school used to have trouble with liquor parties connected with pool rooms. Now the pupils do not attend the pool rooms. There is a boys' committee that looks up bootlegging rumors but has invariably found them unfounded.

A clean, fresh town with an intelligent middle-class people trying to bring their citizens into line with the laws they themselves have helped to make—a city not seriously considering the repeal or modification of the Eighteenth Amendment, any more than any other law, but taking it with a light-hearted acceptance and enforcing it with a free-handed gayety. Men drink in Seattle just as they take dope, but not by the mass; it has become an individual, not a social problem.

Out of Seattle in the early morning and on the train to Tacoma! The hills are turning red in the autumn, but the flat, rain-drenched valley through which we hurry is as green as summer. The pastures along the river bottom are full of black-and-white cattle and the corn is not yet ripe. We stop now and then at ugly little villages with false-front buildings, like those in Montana, canning plants and lumber mills, and with no paved streets except the automobile road that goes straight through. Two beautiful things stand out against the ugly towns—the great red-cedar logs piled on flat cars at the sidings and the lovely blond children who look up at the car windows as we pass.

A lanky blond man back of me was talking to a salesman he'd made friends with. "Say, I brought my wife out here from back East—Iowa it was—twenty years ago, and she cried all the time, wanting to go back. Now she won't even go home for a visit! Says it's God's America, for the Americans!"

I reached Tacoma on a September day which acted like April—showers suddenly slushing down the steep streets in sheets of water, and then clouds breaking to show the sun shining on the snows of Mount Rainier high above. The city, bracing itself hard against the hillside, is not an accident. It was willed into existence by the Northern Pacific Railroad and made a terminal city. Down to Tacoma, twisting, winding, bumping, shoving, come thousands of fallen giants—the "redwoods" of virgin forests; they converge into the mills of Tacoma from brooks and rivulets; they come on flat cars over narrow rails. The city smells of fragrant wood. Out from Tacoma goes in endless stream lumber for the houses of America, for homes, for churches and schools, for bookcases and libraries, for shops and counters, for chairs and tables and barrels and pencils, for bread boards and wine presses, for paper pulp for great newspapers, for ships and napkin rings. Tacoma looks young; youth is in her streets; youth is in her eyes.

What is public opinion in this young city of young Americans regarding prohibition? I have before me forty-two editorials clipped from three different papers which take up almost every phase of the question as it affects Tacoma. They are concerned with better enforcement, with education in prohibition, with a Canadian agreement that will prevent rum-running—not one with the repeal of the law!

To discover how the Eighteenth Amendment is actually affecting family and neighborhood life, I went to the Family Welfare Association, for Tacoma, like the other cities of the American Belt, is not a town of social settlements. Miss Anne O. Schwennsen, the executive secretary, had copies of the questionnaire made so that

she could get information from as many sources as possible that would cover both the time before prohibition and after.

A member of her board stated that the percentage of families suffering actual poverty from alcohol was comparatively low. He felt that in the mind of the saloon's patrons, the saloon keeper had been their friend. They were not particularly interested in anything so weighty as politics and the saloon keeper could naturally influence many votes. Another evil was that a large percentage of patrons of disreputable resorts would not have gone to them had they not been keyed up by liquor.

Dr. H. G. Willard said that his own private opinion is that prohibition has done much to cut down the number of cases of mild alcoholism and to increase the ability of the average man to meet his obligations. He felt, however, that the drift was steadily back toward the old state of affairs.

A comprehensive report was secured through Dr. Burton A. Brown of the Pierce County Hospital, from which the following are quotations:

"My observation has been that there is a marked improvement in general happiness and well-being. The chief cause is because less money is being spent on drink. High wages and steady employment would account for this while it lasted, but the general trend has been toward steady employment, both before and after the amendment. I believe, however, that it is the experience of the average doctor and dentist that they collect more bills at the present time than they did before prohibition. My observation is that the use of drugs during this period has largely increased. I am not one of those, however, who believe that this increase is due to prohibition.

"There is a great amount of bootlegging and illicit manufacturing in the county and state. My belief is based upon almost daily contact in hospital work with intoxicated individuals brought in by the police for treatment of severe alcoholic intoxication, and for injuries resulting from accidents directly due to intoxication. There has been somewhat of a tendency for minors to drink, but this only in a few instances which receive publicity. On the whole, there has been very little of this. The feeling of defiance with a sense of daring and sporting probably has existed, but the reaction to it, at least in this community, has tended to stamp it out. There are no definite movements among the young people to counteract it, as the need has not been sufficient. I do not believe that the illicit consumption of whisky has increased poverty in any manner comparable with conditions when the saloons were open. Present poverty is due more to the industrial situation, illness, and disabilities incident to disease.

"There is no political significance in the present disregard of the amendment. I do not believe violators in our city and county are protected politically, although they may have been at one time. They do not appear to be connected with any political ring or party."

Dr. C. E. Taylor, superintendent of the Western State Hospital at Fort Steilacoom, says: "It is my impression that the forms of mental disease classified as alcoholic psychosis are considerably fewer in state hospitals since prohibition came in. At least, the more chronic types, due to excessive drinking over a period of many years, do not occur so frequently."

Mr. H. S. Nettleton, president of one of the retail furniture concerns in Tacoma, stated that according to

statistics gathered throughout the country since prohibition laws became effective, families have had more money to spend, and that there was at once a material change for the better in the home-furnishing business. More families started to purchase furniture and the increase of business seems to have been permanent. The percentage of bad accounts has been much lower than previous to the prohibition period.

From another angle comes the interesting variation of this opinion; a clergyman stated that his information applied to the time since the enactment of the prohibition law and must be confined to the Italian settlement where he has been working. He stated that the poor Italian immigrant in general disapproves of prohibition; that those from Calabria and Sicily, even before prohibition, were temperate and with few exceptions never got drunk. He felt that the saloon keepers were bad, but thought that the bootleggers were more numerous and were still worse. He had not noticed a great change in family happiness and prosperity since prohibition, and thought that open disregard for prohibition has brought disregard for all laws among the poor immigrants.

The prosecuting attorney of Pierce County felt that it was now a rare thing to see anyone under the influence of liquor. Some complaints, undoubtedly, come in of young boys carrying bottles in their hip pockets, but in his own opinion there is not so much liquor used today by the younger element as formerly. It was also his opinion that the liquor traffic is being lessened as time goes on.

Mrs. Carrie G. Benjamin, vice-president of the Pierce County W. C. T. U., says that "there are a good many bootleggers working around Tacoma. The officers arrest a good many and get numbers of stills; but for every gal-

lon they make and sell now, the saloons used to sell barrels of booze. Tacoma has been through several strikes since prohibition, and they were carried on without a single fight or shooting scrape—something unheard of in the old wet days."

Blanche Funk Miller, justice of the peace, believes that the present prosperity is due greatly to prohibition. Personally, she handles many collections for different agencies; sickness and not drink is usually the reason now for a man's being in debt. Experience and observation disprove the claim that the use of drugs has largely increased; she believes that to be mostly propaganda. Young men are seldom brought into court for drunkenness. Only the old victims of alcohol are left. As city clerk and chief registration clerk with 40,000 registered voters, she does not believe that there is as widespread disregard of the amendment as the "wet" propagandists insist. She believes that poverty in Tacoma is practically all due to industrial conditions, and because of her position she speaks with authority. Drink is less and less a subject of serious consideration among the groups in the neighborhood, though the mothers and teachers as a group are ardent defenders of the law. She does not believe that alcohol is bothering the younger group; this problem does not belong to their generation and if the law remains unchanged will cease to be a problem. It is not the people of this community who support the agitation for a change, but the foreigners. Tacoma is so free from this problem that many of the questions seem absurd. Judge Miller concludes: "When all the answers come in, you will probably know how free our country is of the liquor problem."

Tacoma, more than most cities, is the product of its

environment. It is not to be understood except as it is the center of a widespread territory—a very young daughter of old conditions. I took the 'bus out to Olympia and from there went on back through Aberdeen into the great forests from which the city takes its life—the evergreen trees, pines and firs and spruces, eight, ten, fifteen feet through the butt, one hundred, one hundred and fifty, two hundred feet high, a tangle of fern about their feet, rich moss hanging like green silk from their lower branches and still dripping from the last shower. There are tracts where the trees have been sent to the great saws that shriek out as one passes the mills; the refuse from them burns like the catafalques of kings in iron cages high above the mills. And when they are down, the young men of the lumber camps and the sawmills and the shingle mills give way to the young farmers who clear away the tree stumps and find a soil rich in leaf mold, drenched with warm rain from the Pacific, and well watered from the "Fountain Breast of Milk-white Waters" of Mount Tacoma, the great mother mountain, a railroad at hand, rivers on which to ship crops, and the hungry markets of the Pacific waiting. This is the vast rich hinterland of Tacoma—the All-American city which has neither slums nor dire poverty to induce "misery drinking," no great mass of foreign population with drink traditions difficult to combat, a dare-devil disposition with other sources of satisfaction than alcohol, and a Nordic disposition to honor the laws they themselves have made.

Dining in Aberdeen, and a young man leaning across the table toward me:

"I'll tell you how prohibition works in Oregon. I've just come up from Portland. A man asked a policeman

where he could get a drink. 'See that high building on the left? Well, you go round the corner from that and you come to a bookstore—it's the only place in town where you can't get one.' Good story, isn't it?"

South from Tacoma, through the passes of the Cascade Range, to the goal of the covered wagon—Oregon, the country that Daniel Webster didn't want! Long before the covered wagon got there the Hudson's Bay Company had made the region dry. Dr. John McLoughlin, their chief factor, writes in his journal: "From morality and policy I stopped the sale and issue of spirituous liquor to the Indians, but to do this effectually I had to stop the sale of liquor to all whites. In 1834, when Mr. Wyeth of Boston came, he began by selling liquor, but on my assuring him the Hudson's Bay Company sold no liquor to whites or Indians, he immediately adopted the same rule."

One of the early settlers, Ewing Young, started a distillery. Jason Lee wrote a petition in favor of temperance, which was signed by every settler in the Willamette Valley and sent with a friendly letter to Young and his assistant, Carmichael, setting forth the dangers of liquor among the Indians and the whites, and urging them to abandon the distillery. "Recognizing the expense they had already incurred, Lee offered them sixty dollars which the signers of the petition had subscribed for temperance work. Young abandoned the enterprise but declined with thanks the contribution."

The first great wave of settlers came through Missouri in 1843 and arrived nine hundred strong in the already "dry" land of Oregon. Year by year they flooded in, hardy American pioneers, to cut the forests, trap the game, and found Portland, a lonely little village on the

Willamette River, with just enough foothold on the edge of the forest to keep from rolling into the river. Their descendants are in that city now that it is in the front rank as a wheat and flour shipping point and the largest lumber-producing city in the world.

The dry tradition of the region has held. As a territory it was dry in 1844. In 1883, when it had become a state, a law passed both branches of the legislature which prohibited manufacture and limited importation. In 1914 the state went "bone" dry by 36,000, and confirmed it two years later by a majority 20,000 greater. Obviously these apple growers and lumber men, these salmon fishers and traders, want Oregon to be as dry as the Hudson's Bay Company did. Does prohibition work in their chief city?

Mrs. Cora M. Davis of the Public Welfare Bureau was a little surprised at my questions—they seemed so far away from this clean, wide, prosperous, law-abiding American city. She promised to answer the questionnaire later, and this is part of what she wrote:

"I find it somewhat difficult to send you material that will be very valuable to you, for the reason that alcoholism as a problem in our family case work has been a negligible factor. The number of families presenting such problems is so small that it cannot be estimated in terms of percentage. For that reason, we have for the last three years left it off our statistical cards altogether. I believe a fair estimate would be about three a year on an average. As nearly as I can remember, we had but two such families last year. In January, however, drunkenness was a factor in eighteen cases. The saloon as a temptation to boys and young men has disappeared as well as the 'habitual drunkard.' Unquestionably there is

bootlegging and illicit manufacture of liquor in our city. We know this from the confiscations that are continually made. The bootleggers are prosperous, but they sell mostly to people who can afford to buy. Our Italian families and other foreign groups make their own and divide it with their friends, perhaps without cost. Comparatively few of the poorer workingmen are now addicted to the use of alcohol. The illicit traffic in drink is deplorable, but in spite of that the passage of the amendment has otherwise improved conditions."

Obviously, it does work in Portland.

The region roughly covered by cutting the 96th meridian off at the Canadian border and again a little south of Sioux Falls and sweeping it straight west on the smooth tracks of the parallels of latitude till it splashes into the Pacific, is the New America.

In spite of its incredible extent, of the rivers that cut it and the mountain ranges that have thrust up through its serene surface, it is still a coherent unity. It does not matter that it is divided into four great watersheds nor that its climate varies from the coldest in the country to that where a snow flurry is a rarity editorially commented on. It does not matter that geologically its surface belongs to a dozen different eras and was created millions of years apart. Humanly speaking, it is one thing all belonging to the same generation, and with the family resemblances evident to the eye.

From the north end of the Mississippi Valley the Scandinavians drifted slowly north and west after the pioneers —people "once heavy drinkers who talk wet and vote dry"—many of them in Minnesota, fewer in Wyoming and the Dakotas, a mere sprinkling from the salt shaker over Montana, but still inching along toward the north

and west. Nordic people in process of amalgamation. To the south of their migration swept the great covered-wagon trail, also headed north and west, a far swifter migration beginning in 1843 and lasting but thirty years, a migration that passed through the land without taking possession till it reached its goal in the far Northwest—Washington and Oregon. A Nordic migration, too, a continuation of that trek that brought one generation of steady ale and rum drinkers from England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland to the New England coast, kept them there facing the pioneer hardships and drinking Jamaica rum for another generation; sent their children up to Vermont and New Hampshire and the hard-cider country; brought the next generation down again to western New York and Pennsylvania to an easier life, the beginning of temperance talk, "Ten Nights in a Barroom" as a refined entertainment in the farm villages; sent their children on again into the Mississippi Valley to find food in such prodigal plenty as civilized man had never met before and the growing sentiment that alcohol was the devil's servant; on again to the Northwest—five generations from Europe to Oregon. And then "gold rushes," a succession of them swinging west at still greater speed and further to the south. Adventurers of the same race stock, headed for Colorado and Nevada and Idaho—floaters, largely, who came and drank and went on—and after them health pilgrims who stayed in order to live. All these of one race—the American Belt! Pressed on by Mediterranean peoples who have followed as far as the Mississippi, crowded from the south by the Mexicans pushing up through Colorado and Nevada, polka-dotted with Slav groups at the mining centers, stopped by the Pacific,

these Nordic Americans are still a protected group as individual as the kangaroo, tall and blond and bony, striding rather than walking regardless of distance or hills or weather, born in this country but with English, Irish, and Swedish names. In the American Belt the Eighteenth Amendment was nothing new—they had solved their problem for themselves. This group has experimented with the liquor problem by local option and state control, by fines and black lists, has come from dry to wet and back again, and by the long, slow, costly method of trial and error found what is right in the sight of its own eyes—prohibition. With them alcohol has ceased to be a social problem.

CHAPTER VII

THE MUSTARD TRAIL

The Tehachapi Mountains cutting California beltwise in two great sections mark more than a physical boundary. They divide not alone a state, but a state of mind. The capital of the northern empire is San Francisco; of the southern, Los Angeles. The River Rhine itself does not divide peoples of greater divergence in customs and traditions, in temperament and antipathies. To understand so divided a state as California in its reaction to prohibition one must understand its history, for it is history and tradition that help to shape human behavior.

As the French fathers planted pear trees along their journey up the Great Valley to the Great Lakes, so the padres sowed a Mustard Trail up through California, planting a mission at the end of each day's journey along the way and naming the missions for the saints and the angels.

The northernmost mission, founded by Father Juniper Serra was named for the loved St. Francis of Assisi—San Francisco. About the mission clustered the ranchos of Spanish grandees and conquistadores, worked by peons and Indians. The fathers brought with them the grapevine and planted it on the hillsides, teaching the neophytes its care and culture. Stone wineries were built into the rocky hillsides and in the spring the vines were blessed by the priests and part of the yield consecrated to the church.

Such is the early background of San Francisco.

In 1849 the magic word *gold* flashed around the world . . . a great mother lode of gold. Overland, hastening, rushed caravans of men, stopping only for the relaying of horses. Migrations of young men poured across the plains and mountains, reckless and eager; single men, with but youth at stake. The winds from the four corners of the world blew white-winged clipper ships into San Francisco Bay from Shanghai, from Buenos Aires, from Marseilles and Barcelona, from New York and Boston.

San Francisco drowsing on its poppy-covered hills found itself a gold camp, a city of men, jostling, pushing, crowding, paying for its wine in gold dust pinched between thumb and forefinger. The Chinaman with his queue mingled with Italian and Frenchman. Japanese and East Indian rubbed elbows with lads from Boston and New York.

Overnight San Francisco became cosmopolitan, tolerant. It remained so. Later immigrations have not changed its character. Foreign peoples in Los Angeles have been swamped by the Middle Western tides, whereas in San Francisco, both European and Asiatic peoples have influenced its culture and contributed flavor and piquancy to its daily life. Today an old San Franciscan eats chop suey, ragoût, enchaladas, spaghetti, and Boston beans with equal gusto and mourns the fact that once he ate them with wine.

Migrations to San Francisco have brought uniformly a different type of folk from those turning south. Owing to its bracing sea breezes, its white ghost fogs and cold nights, its steep hillsides, San Francisco has drawn to itself the sturdier, the younger, the more daring, the

healthier, the more adventuresome of the people "back East." It has drawn fewer women than men. It is a man's city to whose merry streets in the winter flock the lumberjacks of the northern redwoods, the itinerant worker in orchard and ranch and cannery, the salmon fishers of the northern rivers. Men's boarding-houses, men's hotels, coffee houses, pool rooms are everywhere "south of the slot." Streets like Howard Street swarm with men.

Before prohibition wine flowed freely. It was like bread and salt, universally on every café table, and San Francisco was a café town. "Wine bums" were more common than whisky drunks. Festivals were celebrated with wine—the opening of a new sewer system, a real-estate division, a branch car line. New streets were opened with pageantry and wine. Always there were bands playing and always men, men on the streets, and wine to celebrate.

National prohibition came. Los Angeles celebrated one way, San Francisco another. Los Angeles celebrated the enactment of the law in its churches; San Francisco, wistfully, in its cafés, toasting in wine the passing of the grapes of the padres.

But there is abundant testimony that wine has not passed entirely away from the city. No social-service worker denies the presence in San Francisco today of the bootlegger. No worker denies that Americans are customers. The prosperity of the bootlegger has been conspicuous and taken him from poorer sections to better ones. "The Italians are making money because Americans are buying from them," says a playground director in an Italian section. From a community center of mixed nationalities, with Mediterranean peoples predominating,

comes the report that the "well-being of the entire neighborhood is higher . . . that an amazing number of people are growing prosperous at the bootleg business."

"The only resentment against wet conditions seems to be the injustice of the law that 'gets' the small man and protects the big one."

The Chief Supervisor of Dance Halls, Alice Barrows, says that "prohibition has changed the character rather than the amount of intoxication, that a better class than formerly and a much younger class are drinking now."

Neighborhood House in an Italian district is the oldest settlement in San Francisco. It is in a district filled with cafés which cater not only to the large excess male population of San Francisco, but also to people from other parts of town. From the reports it seems that, though these cafés are in the neighborhood, they are not largely patronized by the people with whom the settlements come in contact. The young people who are seen coming from them at all hours of the night are not the young people of the settlements. It is the same problem which is found in New York City where people from one neighborhood go to another neighborhood to eat and drink. Occasionally a settlement boy has had too much wine but he has had it at home—not at a café party. The dance halls in the district are so well supervised they have ceased to be a menace. The hip bottles are kept out to a remarkable extent.

From the Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Association, which is on the edge of the old, disbanded Barbary Coast, comes the record of changes signed by Miss Alice Griffith, Margaret Johnson, Elizabeth Ashe, social workers who have known this district for over twenty years:

"Since the passage of the amendment the entire outward appearance of the neighborhood has changed; the streets are quiet and orderly. We hear many unverified reports of bootlegging, but this evil is overshadowed by the good effect of the closing of the saloon. The foreman of a big factory testifies that he notices the greatest change in the regularity and promptness of attendance of the employees, the large majority of whom now have savings accounts. Workers at the Neighborhood House all testify that there has been but one case of drunkenness in the gymnasium or dance hall in three years. Previous to 1920 intoxication was very common. The boys stopped at the open saloon before coming to the dances and slipped out frequently during the evening for a drink. The hip-pocket flask is not used to any great extent.

"Children used frequently to sit on the steps of the Neighborhood House, completely stupefied by the drinking of red wine. Our nurses have revived many in the dispensary who were made unconscious by the use of this supposedly harmless drink. This is not an exaggerated statement. We have seen children in the kindergartens put their little heads on their arms and sleep through the entire session, so influenced by red wine.

"After careful investigation we have decided that conditions in this neighborhood are 90 per cent better."

From another Italian district, comes the report that, as in Italian districts the country over:

"We see very little drunkenness, although there is bootlegging all around us. One of the 'old boys' came to see me the other day. He has been living out in the Mission District, running a bootlegging establishment, sales running as high as a hundred dollars a day. But

the police were getting so high priced there was little profit left after paying the retinue, so he has given it up and gone back to the old job of truck driving. The outstanding changes seem to be that the community is more prosperous and has less regard for the law than before. The Italians are making money because the American people encourage them to break the law."

"There is more drinking among young boys and girls than ever before to my knowledge," says a social worker. A boys' club leader says on this point, "It is a fact that very young boys carry flasks when they go to parties. I abhorred the open saloon, but I think there was more control then than now."

From the Booker T. Washington Community Service Center in a neighborhood where there are colored people, the consensus of opinion is that "prohibition has not been conducive to better morals. The majority seem inclined to believe the present seeming popularity of drink is due mainly to the ban placed upon it. The majority are agreed that there is less poverty since the abolishment of the saloon."

A public-health nurse testifies that the Italian neighborhood in which she works is much better off—"bootlegging, of course." On the whole, she says, there is little change. One school principal says that the neighborhood has grown prosperous because of bootlegging, while another principal believes that the effect of lawlessness on the children is demoralizing.

"Do you see those new flats over there? Mrs. P—— used to go out washing while the children shifted for themselves. Now she owns flats and a fine big car."

Dr. Philip King Brown, one of the leaders in the recent attempt to repeal the prohibition state enforcement law,

believes that prohibition is not the success it was hoped it might be and that it encourages lawlessness. "I firmly believe that a law that attempts arbitrarily to suppress normal habits of normal men is not enforceable."

Mary Roberts Coolidge, professor of Sociology in Mills College in Oakland, sums up the situation:

"There is not in California more lawlessness nor disrespect than has been usual in the United States on occasion of any new issue, whenever tradition or habit has been curbed by law. We are still individualists in this country, only partially socialized.

"What are called improper laws (*i.e.*, prohibitory instead of regulatory) are the very least of the problem. All laws that one 'doesn't like are 'improper' until one becomes convinced that they are inevitable or necessary.

"There are several specific classes of persons who would inevitably wink at enforcement:

"a. People with whom drinking is, as they think, a necessary phase of entertaining.

"b. The Bohemian set, closely allied to extreme individualists, lawless by 'pose' on any matter which they don't like.

"c. The first-generation and many second-generation European foreigners, especially the wine-drinking south Europeans. They do not see that what may be tolerable, even useful, in European climates and under their peculiar economic and social conditions, is not so in America where good food is more abundant and the general climate more stimulating.

"d. Non-drinking is associated, in the minds of young people, with 'piosity' and Puritanism; consequently as a matter of pride they break the law in order to be 'mannish' and independent.

"Even in this wine-making state there is a slowly crystallizing sentiment for honest enforcement."

Following south on the Mustard Trail we come to Santa Barbara. Santa Barbara is nearer Los Angeles in sentiment than San Francisco. Here are the homes of multimillionaires set like the palaces of the Medici above the sea. During the winter months financiers and industrial princes of America come to Santa Barbara in their private cars. "Gentlemen's ranches" extend up into the lovely hills. Sybaritic hotels, evergreen golf links, glistening automobiles bespeak Santa Barbara's riches. Here is a large bungalow colony of the moderately well-to-do. Beneath the high lacquer of wealth is the serving class—those who live by catering to the privileged group.

Santa Barbara closed its saloons before national prohibition went into effect. This change took place when incoming tides of Easterners outvoted the native Californians and the Italian and Spanish settlers. But the well-to-do and the middle class could buy bottled goods from wholesalers; the hotels were not deprived of purchasing case lots.

"Following prohibition there was apparently a greater well-being among the wage-earning class, particularly the day-laborer group," writes a correspondent. "Fewer arrests, fewer old people turned over to the county. This is judged to be because families had a greater margin and spent their money on the home and not for drink. There were no war-time industries in Santa Barbara and no general advance to much higher wages."

Wealth has come to the Spanish and Italian vineyardist all along the Mustard Trail. Grapes, selling before prohibition at $20 a ton retail, today sell for $120. Or-

chards are being taken out and grapevines put into the soil. The grapes from the vineyards go to every section of the country.

"There is a large amount of bootlegging and a considerable amount of illicit manufacture in and about the region between San Francisco and San Diego. Shipments of liquor are often seized when landed from ships and it is common knowledge that there is immense traffic in bottled goods. This is landed at some of the unpopulated points on the shore and shipped in trucks to the cities."

Is Santa Barbara dry? A chauffeur for a multimillionaire answered: "That depends upon whether you sit inside or outside the limousine."

The Mustard Trail leads on like a streak of yellow paint to Los Angeles.

The oldest and largest grapevine in America is in southern California. Spanish missionaries brought it from Spain along with their missals and crucifixes, and planted it in the patio of the old 'dobe mission. A semi-tropical sun nourished it. Under its ever-extending shade the padres converted the Indians to Christianity. From its grapes they made the oportos and sherries of the mother country, Spain.

For years after the conquest of California from Mexico southern California slept beneath the sun. Not until a decade after the northern gold rush did men realize that something more precious than gold lay in the fertile earth, that the earth itself was gold. Then farmers in the snow-bound Dakotas, in ice-locked Canada, in mountainous Idaho and Montana, read, as they huddled closer to the kitchen stove, of southern California's perpetual sunshine, of four crops a year! Farmers in wind-swept

Kansas read of the quiet and sun of breathless valleys. In Iowa they read the same story. In Nebraska, in Arkansas, stories of warmth and flowers, of a land where oranges grew luxuriously even while the snow lay dazzling on the mountain tops, of golden fortunes to be had for the lazy turning of the plow.

In hamlet and town, in farming centers, American farmers closed out their holdings and following the old Sante Fé Trail of the Indians, went westward and southward in search of the sun and its more abundant life. They fled as convicts from prisons escaping the steel of winter. Thousands upon thousands took their small fortunes from the great Middle West. Hundreds upon hundreds of American-born farmers from Iowa joined the great migration that flowed down the Mississippi basin, branching southward toward the City of the Angels. They were followed by a horde of petty merchants, shopkeepers who would never again need to put up a storm door against the snow, who need never again think of frozen pipes, of furnace fires. They were a people running away from the lash of winter.

Like a fairy tale often told came back to the East the story of the evergreen year, of exotic flowers and enormous fruits, of a warm land, of easy living, of joy in the sunlight. Old people went in search of longer life, of cures. The discouraged went. They came on stretchers. They came leaning on the arms of their children. Los Angeles was a Lourdes for sick Americans. The poor migrated, the failures in other places, reasoning always that with the sun on their side, what could be against them? With the factor of the cold eliminated, there would be less to struggle against. Los Angeles was El Dorado for poor Americans. Rich tourists came an-

nually to spend the winter months. Lured by the beauty of the groves, of the warm winter evenings, by the warmth of the ocean water, the days on end out of doors, they came to play, to escape boredom.

Los Angeles grew like Jack's beanstalk, overnight. From a sleeping mission with droning neophytes, it awoke to find itself a great sprawling American city, as widely advertised as Monte Carlo, as Paradise itself, with real-estate developments extending tentacles up into the remote hills. Over the miles and miles of roads that connect Los Angeles with "the States" tourists and settlers arrived daily by the thousands, in Fords, in wagons, on foot. The railways brought them in Pullman cars and tourist coaches. Boosters and advertisers moved in. There was truth to exploit in its climate. The gold rush of northern California was but a trickle compared with the flood tide of Americans to the south.

And the people who made these migrations were a different stock, a different folk from those of the north. They were people who came from sections of the country where the sentiment for prohibition was already strong. Winter they left behind them, but their notions and convictions they brought with them into the south of California. Back in "the States" they had voted dry. In Los Angeles they voted dry.

Another factor differentiating the south from the north was the preponderant number of women who came in the migrations from the East. The women of the gold camps were of questionable origin, of questionable pursuit; they were rugged, manlike, the decent as well as the outcast. But the women of the south were wives and mothers who lived on the land, women who welcomed the change from the harsh life behind them. Al-

ways they had been against liquor, always—back in Kansas and Idaho and Iowa.

Men, bone dry before they reached their promised country, women dedicated to the spread of the idea of prohibition, old and sick people fencing with death, these folk brought a new tradition to California and planted it beside the old grapevine. The old traditions of the Spanish padres vanished, crumbled, and decayed with the adobe missions. Although the Mexicans came in large numbers to work as common laborers in the city, their foreign ways and drinking habits never influenced the population. The foreigner never played the part he did in northern California. There was always plenty of cheap American labor. Los Angeles, the articulate Los Angeles, is American, where things "foreign" are under suspicion. So when elections occurred, involving the question of prohibition, San Francisco and the north always voted wet; Los Angeles and the south always voted dry. For in the land of old Mexico the language of Iowa is spoken, of the Middle West, the language of the bone-dry, back-home state.

In this far-famed Mecca, writes one of the social workers, "many arrive by auto with little gasoline and no funds. Many arrive by trains so ill as to need immediate hospital care. A good deal of unemployment complicates the situation . . . there is a strong feeling of instability . . . children, legitimate and illegitimate, are given away frequently. . . . The county Outdoor Relief Department carries about 6,000 cases . . . and these are cases where the family income is about thirty dollars a month."

I dined at a little Spanish-American restaurant with a group of women who knew the city from the social

workers' point of view. What went into the making of the prohibition situation they gave me in quickly forming and dissolving views. I made myself a fresh film for each of them—they had been so real. A woman leaned across the table. "Let me tell you what happened to a friend of mine." I felt the smile set on my face. "He asked a policeman where he could get a drink—and the man said ——" How hard life is when even the clearest amber must hold its fly!

There is much poverty in Los Angeles today, but it is not due to liquor or to prohibition; rather to the lure that this city has for the sick and indigent, the failures from other sections of the country.

Nevertheless, Miss Louise Drury says that "the Juvenile Protective Association has had few cases in the last year and a half where children have been neglected, mistreated, or improperly supported primarily because of drinking."

Little homes in the suburbs, cars, furniture, radios, electric equipment on the installment plan, savings, these things have blossomed from the pay envelopes of workingmen since the closing of the saloons, is the testimony of Miss Bessie Stoddart of the Los Angeles Settlement Association.

"Our settlement people's children, now grown," Miss Stoddart writes, "are much better off financially and socially, owing, we feel, in great part to their having gotten away from the constant domination of the saloon, which was one of the chief causes that held their parents back. In those days saloons were not allowed in 'residential' districts, but thousands of the poor had to 'reside' in districts not honored by the high-sounding phrase,

so *their* children had to have thrust upon them what the better off would not allow in their neighborhoods."

Mr. Carl L. May, Supervisor of Adult Probation, speaking of those who were released on probation—since prohibition became effective, writes, "I have had less occasion to refer destitute cases to the County Charity Board and men are less troublesome, especially as relates to their family and home conditions—men now on probation generally have savings accounts, are buying homes, or are supporting dependents in a much larger proportion than before prohibition became effective. After fourteen years of experience in probation work I can safely say that men placed on probation today are greatly assisted in rehabilitating themselves with prohibition on the books."

A social worker in a Japanese and Mexican neighborhood says that the former are "prosperous and dignified" and, like Jewish groups the country over, have no liquor problem. Among the poor Mexicans liquor plays a minor rôle and prohibition has not changed matters greatly. They are able to get liquor still.

"Before we had the saloon; now we have the bootlegger; both are bad enough," she says. "Yet I consider the bootlegger as preferable to the saloon in that he is not permitted by law but only flourishes in the inadequacy of its reinforcement."

"Since prohibition there has been a decrease in misdemeanor cases but there has been an increase in narcotic cases," says Judge Carlos S. Hardy of the Superior Court; but he relates neither condition to prohibition, nor does he connect the increase in felonies with liquor.

The reports which come to us from Los Angeles tell little of youth drinking. "Occasionally a school principal

tells me that he thinks there is drinking among the students in high and grammar schools in a way unheard of before prohibition. This is particularly true with outlying communities. This assertion is partly denied by other school principals," writes Miss Ethel Richardson in charge of adult education of the state.

All social workers tell of bootlegging. The Mexican border is near and the outlying country dotted with grapevines.

A social worker gives the same testimony that has come from the cities of the East: "The immigrants came with high ideals of American life and find citizens jeering at the laws of their own making and indulging in a thriving trade of this illicit nature. They see the wealthy offender go free and the poor one dealt with with undue severity."

Some of the Los Angeles newspapers seem wholly committed to the present law and have a wide influence. The sentiment of the community is against any modification, and consequently Los Angeles, as its reports show, is relatively dry, although one report states that "it will take a generation or two before prohibition wins out."

The Mustard Trail leads on to San Diego, where, far to the south, is the semitropical play city. The incoming people have brought it five years of prosperity.

"In our last annual report we did not find that intemperance was given as the primary cause of poverty in a single case," writes Miss Helen Ramage, the executive secretary of the county Welfare Commission. "We are writing to say that economic conditions under prohibition show a very definite improvement as compared with the days of its open saloons."

San Diego is but a few miles from the Mexican bor-

der. The end of the Mustard Trail. A constant stream of automobiles rolls over the line into Tia Juana and Mexicali, where saloons line the streets. "The large per cent of the people on the streets are Americans," say the social workers, and the border conditions complicate enforcement in southern California.

CHAPTER VIII

OUR HERITAGE FROM SPAIN

Out of Los Angeles in the early morning of a hot September day. No rain for nearly four months and the world a brown, dry, rolling prairie with dust blowing against the car windows. I came out of a doze with a gentle tinkle in my ears, a soft twanging of strings, and a pretty Spanish song going on and stopping and going on again. A song about nothing in particular, ending nowhere. When the song defined itself sufficiently, I turned to see a pretty, plump Mexican mamma with a tiny guitar; beside her a slender Mexican daughter, and opposite her a plump, complacent Mexican papa; between them a table with an open lunch basket and a bottle of red wine. I smiled at mamma and she smiled back. There was an interval in the lunch and she resumed the guitar. Why should a lady talk when she could sing? I looked around the edge of my seat again and she hospitably offered me a glass of red wine, a courtesy in the Spanish manner, a part of gentle living and, like the guitar, brought from below the Mexican border—a heritage from Spain.

The dust blew and blew. The windows were shut tight to keep out the heat, and we entered Arizona. It was only 104 in the car, with the fan going. What was it outside? Grapevines trimmed like bushes, drooped wearily in the sun. Their grapes had been given for the sea-

son, why not die and be done with it? But grapes fetch a high price, and slow-footed, tranquil Mexicans, their brown skins impervious to sun and sand, kept them just alive, for man and grapevines depend on each other on the edge of the desert.

Phœnix is the center on which the activities of Arizona converge. Also, Phœnix has a Social Service Center so that there is some one to ask about how prohibition works in this country whose people make money and take pleasure in the vine.

"The questionnaire is not at all applicable to Phœnix," writes Mrs. William G. Elder. "Prohibition was enforced in Arizona as a state law before the Eighteenth Amendment was passed. Previous to that time Arizona was a territory. Saloons and gambling places were running full blast, but this condition, as a whole, did not affect the family. Generally the patrons of these places were miners and cowboys who were not married. At the present time there is more poverty in Phœnix than there has ever been before, but that condition is not due to bootlegging. Our city has grown, poor people have come here for their health and on account of the mild climate, and they have not had the strength or initiative necessary to make good."

From Arizona word comes that "the traders who were to a man wet, ten years ago, now say frankly that the Mexicans spend their money for goods instead of drink and for the first time their children have shoes in winter; consequently, the trader is for prohibition—at any rate, for the poor!"

No eye can see the border between New Mexico and Arizona; both are the joint heirs of Spain and of eastern America. But New Mexico inherits, perhaps, a little

more of American influence. The Rio Grande, hurrying down from Colorado, is the axis of the state because it is the source of irrigation and, therefore, of fertility. With irrigation, the land on the Rio Grande is the richest in the world, even richer than that in the Valley of the Nile. Long before the Americans came in, the Mexicans irrigated the land. Earlier still, the Indians of the pueblos did the same thing. Neither of these races is foreign to the valley—they got there before we did. The operation of the Eighteenth Amendment in New Mexico is dependent on several different factors: the drink habits of the Mexicans and Indians; the geographical nearness to the Mexican border, over which alcohol can be smuggled; and the rainfall which determines whether people shall or shall not have leisure and money to devote to the problem of getting alcohol.

Miss Lillian Franzen, a former social worker in the state, says: "The difference between saloons and no saloons is most apparent in the mining camps, and in these places there seems to be decided improvement in conditions. New Mexico is just emerging from a ten-year drought that almost completely did away with the ranching industry. The ranchers were financed by the banks and the result was that three years ago we had a series of bank failures. New Mexico has been very busy trying to retrieve her fortunes by developing her many resources—her tremendous stores of coal and metal, the lumbering industry, adding more acreage to the irrigated areas, and trying out diversified farming by introducing the cultivation of the sugar beet and the cotton plant. There may be a prohibition problem in New Mexico; there undoubtedly is, but so far it has been an individual one and has not yet risen to the social consciousness

calling for concerted action. We have been too busy retrieving our years of loss and developing our resources to give the prohibition problem the consideration it is receiving in other places."

There are no settlements in New Mexico, are not, indeed, any cities large enough to demand them, but through Miss Franzen we have secured reports from people in touch with social conditions from three of the chief cities and one mining town.

Mr. Charles H. Stearns, Deputy Prohibition Administrator of Albuquerque, writes that since the passage of the amendment, "The poor have food and clothes; children and parents have nearly all become self-respecting. Merchants are unanimous in the opinion that money formerly spent in the saloon is now devoted to the home. Hardly 1 per cent of poverty at present is due to drink. There has been no change in the nature of crimes, but they have been reduced by half. There is much bootlegging, but the quantity of liquor consumed is but a small percentage of pre-Volstead days. The aliens do not, as a rule, respect the Eighteenth Amendment and are our chief offenders. I do not believe young people are drinking as much as they would if saloons were running. New Mexico has been unfortunate in that the state enforcement law was declared unconstitutional."

Mr. George Miksch, superintendent of the Defiance Coal Company of Gallup, the spot from which the pack trains leave for the Painted Desert and the Rainbow Bridge, writes: "There is scarcely any poverty now. Wages are spent for the comfort of the families and for automobiles. Nearly everyone in this community, including Mexicans and Indians, owns a car. We have scarcely any arrests for drunkenness, and we hardly

ever have a murder case any more. Under open saloons, I have known as many as three such cases in one year, and they were directly due to drinking. There is some illicit manufacture and bootlegging, but it does not amount to anything compared with the twenty-three saloons we had when we went dry. I do not see an intoxicated man once a week, now, where we used to see them by the dozens every day. Most drinking men will admit that it is better now than it was during the saloons, if you pin them right down to it. I think not nearly so many are drinking as used to when fathers and mothers sent their children to the back door of the saloon to bring a can of beer. I have not seen any boys and girls drinking and have not seen any who were drunk. Prior to prohibition, when we paid the men at the mine, it was useless to try to operate the mine the next day, and sometimes it would take as much as three days to get enough men back to work to pay to operate. After prohibition we could pay any time and have a good turn-out of men the next day. Prohibition was better enforced during the first years after it went into effect than it is now. Our town is much more prosperous than before. Most of the best people are well pleased with prohibition and everyone here seems to want more stringent laws passed."

And then from Santa Fé, the cultural center of the New American invasion, comes the report of Mrs. P. M. Ruleau, head of the Division of Vital Statistics of the Bureau of Public Health: "Prohibition was voted upon in 1917, as I remember it, and started off gayly in October, 1918. There never was a state health department or any similar provision until after the adjournment of the 1919 legislature, so that there are absolutely no figures on which a comparison could be based. Dr.

Luckett, state health director, seems to think there has been no increase in 'dope' using; and we are disposed to believe (although, frankly, without any sound foundation) that deaths attributable to liquor are not quite so frequent. My own observation, which isn't worth a hoot as statistical data, is that what we are prone to call 'the better class of people' drink considerably more (at least, they make a lot more noise about it) than previously, but that the poorer people drink much less. This applies as well to the native Spanish-American as to the Anglo-American. No one can 'get all he wants'—firstly, because it is difficult to ferret out and get; secondly, because he can't afford it. And the quality is so rotten that no person of reasonably good taste would want much of it. So far as our knowledge extends, the use of bootleg liquor has not materially affected health problems in this state. Undoubtedly the use of the quality of liquor that is bootlegged would be more disastrous than the same use of liquor of a better quality, but we have no reason to believe that as much of it is used as in pre-prohibition times."

A social worker in one of the mining towns, says: "Our town has always been a closed camp, so that the camp manager had a great deal of authority. When I came here the prohibition law, state or national, had not been passed. Saloons closed at nine o'clock and there was no such thing as disorderly houses or prostitution. There was a great deal of drinking, but a man would not try to work if he had been drinking, as the company was very strict with them along that line. In the state vote on prohibition the camp went forty-nine majority for the law.

"At the present time the company does not make ar-

rests where wine is made and used in the home. If it finds anyone selling wine it is very severe. The main effort is to keep out professional bootleggers who dispense hard stuff. Government agents drop in occasionally and spill the wine. If a man is a continual lawbreaker the company gets rid of him rather than punishing him in courts.

"I feel that we have too much drinking here as elsewhere, but not nearly so much as they have in open towns like Raton and Trinidad. In our camp, crooks of any kind are unwelcome, and do not stay if they happen to get in here. Carnival people are told just how they would better act when they come to town if they wish to stay overnight. There is a certain fear of the law here that is not found in other places where I have lived.

"I do not believe that there is as much drinking now as there was before prohibition."

If you follow the Rio Grande down, which is to reverse the course by which Spain entered the country, you get into Texas. Texas as a state has coquetted with the problem of prohibition ever since she came to us from Mexico. Now she would and now she wouldn't! Again and again the dry rural counties would almost push the wet cities over the line, and almost every form of local option and regulation that could be tried was experimented with in that vast state. Only under the excitement of war-time prohibition did the state as a whole actually go dry.

A public official in Texas writes: "There seem to be three sources of the liquor supply in Texas—one through Mexico, one through the ports of Galveston and Port Arthur, and the other one bootleg. What whisky I have tasted in Texas is of a higher grade than that in Chicago.

The beer I have gotten hold of has been terrible. There is little difference in the amount of liquor consumed in Texas today and in the days before prohibition, because Texas had considerable prohibition by local option before the Eighteenth Amendment was passed."

Texas prohibition was never very drastic in the big cities. The people were against it and the same problems of enforcement which the other parts of the country are struggling with today these cities too have wrestled with. Dallas, up near the center of the state, has nearly 200,000 people and it is a point of distribution for the inland markets of Texas. Dallas has no settlement, and, as Miss Flora Saylor of the United Charities says, "Since the war, because our families move about so much and refuse to stay settled, it has been almost impossible to obtain data concerning them that is sequential and conclusive. However, may I say succinctly that before the war we did not believe, from our findings, that alcohol was so largely at the root of the poverty we found? We felt that much of the poverty was more dependent on industrial conditions—on casual industry and lack of technical training than on drink."

The train hurries into Dallas as though it were glad to get there. A woman on the train said to me: "You're coming back from California, too, aren't you? Well, I don't wonder you're headed this way! If all the Golden West was offered me, I'd take Dallas! Going to New York? Well, if there's anything you want to see it's in New York to *be* seen, I guess—but give me Dallas!"

Mr. Elmer Scott, the executive secretary of the Civic Federation of Dallas sends records and vital statistics that show drunk-and-disorderly arrests for 1916 were 30.7 per 1,000 population, that after the amendment was

passed they dropped to 4.6 in 1918, and that with the amendment still theoretically in force they rose to 25.3 per 1,000 in 1925. His records show also that there were 13 deaths from alcoholism in 1916, that the number dropped to zero in 1920, and that in 1925 it had gone up to 10. This is one of the few places west of the Mississippi where the record does actually follow the lines of the questionnaire—where it did what we had thought it would.

My train, hurrying on through the hot desert, reached El Paso in the rain. There was no reason for rain at that season of the year. It never happened, they told me, but there it was. The city was washed clean of its dust. I could feel the moist air in my lungs after the dry heat of the past week. But next day the sun shone! El Paso had the reputation of being a town with the lid off. Is it not on the Mexican border where alcohol can come in unimpeded? I was prepared for El Paso as it used to be. But El Paso of today is a "sport." It is a law unto itself and it is, in effect, bone dry. It has no red-light district; crime and disorder are not seen in its streets, and there is a general effect of order and quiet and prosperity. I visited the United Charities, the offices of the Community Chest, the Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A.

Mr. A. L. Holm of the Y. M. C. A. writes: "Just let me say this: I have been a resident of El Paso for twelve years. We had a saloon, known as the Coney Island, which had a record as bad as any in the old days in El Paso. Many were shot down in cold blood in this saloon by drunken men. With the going of this saloon through prohibition one of the worst eyesores in this whole section was wiped out. Several other saloons

were almost as bad. Before prohibition we had many young men come into the Y building under the influence of liquor; this was especially true around the holidays. We seldom have any of this now. We don't have drunken men on our streets any more. Of course, an occasional drunk gets off the cars from Mexico." His board members are all for prohibition.

But to find El Paso dry is no final solution of the problem, for El Paso is the gate to Mexico and it connects with Juarez by two bridges across the Rio Grande. A man has only to walk across the bridge to get a drink of real liquor. Juarez is, in effect, the segregated district of El Paso. I took a motor across to this town. There is a very nice-looking customhouse there, a rather superior jail, and the Cathedral of Guadaloupe, closed now for the first time in three hundred years. There is something that looks like a schoolhouse, but my driver considered this improbable, for why should there be a school in Juarez? Beyond that there is nothing that approaches decency or respectability in Juarez; the streets are lined entirely and without exception with saloons, usually with American names above them—Jake's Place, Pete's Place, and the like—with gambling houses with gay Frenchified names, and with disorderly houses of the most blatant type. Raucous music was coming out of them in the middle of the afternoon. Beyond these things and the picturesque, though squalid, quarters where the Mexicans live and the tiny stores at which they buy their food, there is nothing in Juarez. I went through every street in the town.

"Show me," said I to my driver, "the best gambling place in town."

He took me to the Tivoli, a large, cheap Coney-Island-like gambling resort. The music of a mechanical piano blared out as the doors swung open and shut.

"What is inside?" I asked.

"Roulette, faro, keeno—anything you want," he answered.

"Anything to drink?" I said.

"Sure," said he.

"Women?"

At that he only shrugged his shoulders.

"Stop here and I will go in a minute," said I.

"No'm," he answered, stepping on the gas.

"But suppose I want a drink," I said.

He turned and looked at me as the car went zigzagging over the unpaved street.

"You don't want no drink," he said.

As I came back over the bridge the customs officer stopped the car.

"Did you buy anything over there?" he asked me through the window.

"No," I replied.

"Drive on," he said to my chauffeur.

It didn't seem like a very thorough inspection, but I heard afterward that the officials know that the drivers of cabs will indicate to an officer if the passenger is likely to be bringing in illicit goods. The bridges between the two towns close at nine o'clock. If a man goes there for a drink he must either be home early or stay all night. There is a movement on foot to close them at six, and I was told that the sentiment among the business men of El Paso was so strongly in favor of prohibition as an aid to business that this measure was likely to go through.

Into the train again and on toward the east.

"Where are you goin'?" a woman asked me on the train.

"San Antonio," I said.

"Oh, San Anton'!" she drawled. "That's goin' to be the greatest winter resort in the state befo' long."

In 1876, while Philadelphia was celebrating its centennial of civilization in hooped skirts and high beaver hats, San Antonio boasted a yellow mud street, 'dobe shacks, three saloons, gambling places, three stores, two stage stations with their adjoining horse corrals, no church, no schools, no white collars, no laws, thirty resident Americans, some Mexicans and Indians. Centuries before the whites came to America, Indians roaming down the ancient Santa Fé Trail into Old Mexico met other Indians crossing at right angles westward to the Pacific over the San Bernardino passes. Here at the crossroads was water for horses and men. Tepees were pitched. Fires lighted. Pipes smoked in the quiet of the vast mesa.

With the conquest of the region by Spain, the Spanish king put a Christian name upon the crossroad dot. San Antonio was written on Spanish maps and Franciscan monks raised rough altars.

Time passed. The Indians passed. The Spanish went. But San Antonio squatted on the crossroads, silent, waiting for the next scene in the American drama. In 1879 men spied on the clear, sunlit horizon four railway lines converging toward Ben Dowell's saloon, the heart of San Antonio. If civilization was coming, it was time for the town to shake the dust from its boots and elect a mayor. It did so. It elected Ben Dowell, the most important man in the region.

From 1880 to 1890 people poured into San Antonio at the rate of one hundred a day. The fame of San Antonio, a man's playground, was blown like tumbleweed over the mesa. The licensing of the pleasure and drinking resorts paid all the taxes. There was much money, much carousing, much drinking. Men were individuals, enforcing a rough law with guns. The roulette wheel spun twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week; the bartenders worked up and down long bars in shifts; the dance-hall music played to sunlight and moonlight. A wide-open man's town with ample pleasures and amusements. Once the Indian man; then the conquistadore and the padre; now the frontiersman of America.

With the coming of hotels, lawyers, churches, homes, paved streets, brick buildings, laundries, white collars, plate-glass windows, and wives came the inevitable changes.

Today, writes an old resident of the mission outpost, "San Antonio is a town paved, pious, and solid. The lids are down on dance-hall pianos, the whirr of the roulette wheel is stilled, the click of chips is no longer heard, the bartenders have folded up their white coats and silently stolen away."

Wives, babies, rubber-tired gocarts, go-getters, wealth, churches, golf, and prohibition have come to San Antonio.

San Antonio, like other Texas cities, has no settlement. A social worker wrote us she thought the Volstead Act had given old and young alike an utter disregard and contempt of the law. The only difference between now and before prohibition is that a citizen pays a very high price in an illicit manner for extremely poor whisky. The young people of today, in obtaining this whisky

in a sub-rosa manner, feel they are getting "forbidden fruit," while before prohibition it at least did not have the fascination of mystery.

On from San Antonio to Houston, another distributing point of merchandise to the surrounding territory. The workers of the Social Service Bureau feel that in general prohibition has helped things. Mrs. Elizabeth Lyles, the Supervisor of Child Welfare, states, "There is no doubt that the Eighteenth Amendment has made a decided improvement in the home." Mrs. Lyles mentioned "that some idea of conditions could be gained by the fact that a special police officer went with clients to collect the wages of family men every pay day, before they had the opportunity to come in contact with the saloon. After the Eighteenth Amendment was enacted the officer was transferred to other duties."

Figures from the police department sent by Dr. E. H. Willisford, superintendent of the Bureau, shows that "from 1918 to 1923 there was a material decrease in the number of arrests. How much this decrease is due to a stricter enforcement of law, I am unable to say. My own opinion is there has been some increase in drinking during the past few years, due probably to the general lack of public interest in law enforcement. Just now there seems to be a revival of interest and an effort to secure a stricter enforcement of law. From my knowledge of the city and that of those who have been in a position to know the social and economic situation of Houston, I feel confident in stating that the city as a whole and the type of people to whom we most minister have been greatly benefited by the closed saloon."

CHAPTER IX

THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Long before daylight the smell of the swamps began to come in through the car windows—the scent of wet vegetation, of moist decay and tropical growth. After long days in the desert where the air is too dry to carry odors, the wet swamp smell had body and substance; it was a presence that crowded the train. As the sun rose the swamp steamed up to meet it—perfume and miasma together. Here was the place where the Mississippi was continuing its age-long building operations; the thick mud had been the dry soil of Montana and the Dakotas not so long ago, as geology counts time, and the Northwest itself, the High Plains and the Land of Little Lakes, were still moving bodily down to the Gulf.

How does prohibition work in this land where every bayou is a possible hiding place? Where a hundred little streams and estuaries lead to the Gulf and possibly to waiting rum-runners? Where two races live side by side on two social levels, and with laws differently interpreted for each. How does it work in Louisiana?

Lafayette, one of the smaller cities a few hours west of the Mississippi, has a Home Relief Association as its center of social work. Mrs. Hattie W. Hart, the secretary, says that immediately after the passage of the amendment family welfare had improved and the budget maintained the family, as there was less spent on drink and more regularity and stickativeness at work. Health

records seemed to show a decided change for the better. But still people were drunk at unsupervised dances, and a neighboring town to which the automobile road runs was getting rich from the sale of liquor.

"Crime and accidents from reckless driving have increased," says Mrs. Hart. "More women are drinking and both boys and girls drink. Drink is made in every home and the majority seem to like it. The mothers' clubs have taken no action to counteract the drinking, except to sponsor temperance talks, and there is no movement in the parish against drink except in the church."

The Mississippi was full to the brim, full and spilling over, when I crossed to New Orleans, heavy, too, with stolen soil from the Northwest, strewn with broken branches and driftwood that it had picked up on the way, swinging sullenly from side to side, as though impatient at the stays the levees had bound about it—a dangerous patron saint for a city!

That first night I met a group of social workers, nurses, teachers, health workers, probation officers, and organizers of the Community Chest, besides the settlement residents.

"Do you think that there is illegal manufacture or bootlegging in your neighborhood?" I asked them.

There was a moment's courteous silence, and then a ripple of laughter started and swept around the room and back again—men's laughter and women's laughter, the laughter of young and old. Where wouldn't you find it if you looked? New Orleans is said to be America's wettest city. It is probably America's most romantic and dramatic city, or, rather, collection of cities, for there are at least four different ones that touch but do not

mingle. The old French city with its narrow streets and its high balconies, that has the wine-drinking traditions of the French everywhere; the Irish city, seventy-five years old, whose men drank as a matter of course; a great Negro city permeating the others and kept as dry as possible by them; and the new American city, come in since the Civil War, busily building skyscrapers and department stores and apartment buildings and developing New Orleans to the pattern of Detroit or Portland—the city of the well-to-do Americans, who are the most profitable customers of the bootleggers.

The Irish New Orleans is the one which outsiders seem to know least about, and yet it has been a large stable community for at least seventy-five years and a workingman's neighborhood. The people with whom I talked said that the third and fourth generations still live and work where their fathers landed. The pioneers came over in sailing vessels, taking months to make the journey. Most of the men found work on the river front and eventually became cotton rollers, screw men, or longshoremen. Before the passage of the amendment the neighborhood was a homogeneous group devoted to the church and loyal to one another. Drinking was more or less general among the men, but women drinkers were rare after the passage and fairly effective enforcement of the law prohibiting the sale of liquor to women and minors. "He never drinks to hurt his family" would be the description of the man who might spend all of his pocket money at the saloon, yet was sober enough to go to his job on Monday morning. The husband or son, not so good, stopped at the saloon with his pay envelope and left a good part of his week's earnings there, or perhaps drank so heavily that he could not work on Monday.

I was told that between 1918 and 1921 there was a marked change for the better in neighborhood living conditions. The smaller amount of money spent on drink had something to do with it, but high wages and steady employment were the more important factors.

All social workers do not agree with this statement. The truant officers complain that there is a grave amount of truancy and irregular school attendance, due to many causes. This is true of the outlying fringe of people, the country folks moving in, and the transients. A judge of a juvenile court says: "In one thousand cases in the court of domestic relations recently recorded, alcoholism was the major contributing cause in only twelve. Before prohibition the proportion was three times as great, to put it very conservatively." The record of a day nursery, however, shows alcoholism as the cause of desertion and nonsupport in ten out of fifty families. The relief workers in the district are all new; they report that in the cases carried by them now, alcoholism is a negligible factor.

The only difference seen by a social worker in the drug situation was that caused by the introduction of mariajuana. The presence and use of this weed came to our attention about 1918. Its use has increased alarmingly since that time, not only in one district, but throughout the city. The officials are now conducting a vigorous campaign against it.

"There are fewer industrial accidents than before prohibition and fewer workers staying out on Mondays." This statement is not verified by all of the industrial plants in the neighborhood. Some claim that there has been no change.

The Irish-American male population has an attitude of resentment toward the prohibition amendment and feels no qualms about breaking it. The making of home brew, a beer with a considerable alcoholic content, is almost universal. Of this household drink, usually made by the father, the entire family partakes, even the baby. "It is cheap and not harmful, except when used excessively," is the neighborhood verdict. The women feel that it is better to have this beer made at home than to have the men going out to get the poisonous stuff so often sold to them. One mother who makes the family beverage regularly, says: "My boys stay at home and drink this in moderation. I do not know what they would do if I did not have it for them."

At the neighborhood dances there is little or no evidence of drinking, but almost always a few empty flasks are found the next day. No pass-out checks are issued, however, because it is known that there are places in the neighborhood where drinks are sold.

The soft-drink stand and the corner drug store have taken the place of the saloon as a social meeting place. Here is where both mariajuana and liquors can sometimes be bought. A neighborhood coffee house and pool room was operated from 1918 to 1923. It was used and enjoyed until places began springing up where liquor could be bought.

Bootlegging is carried on rather extensively, especially by Italians. Social workers have used lists furnished by neighbors and have reported places. Sometimes arrests have been made. The fines have been cheerfully paid and business usually resumed after a very short time. The men who were hard drinkers before prohibition find no difficulty, apparently, in getting a supply and their

families suffer as they did before prohibition. There is, however, a difference.

"My husband," said one woman, "used to just go to sleep and sleep it off. He never was cross or noisy. Now this stuff he gets makes him wild-like. I feel afraid sometimes that he'll go crazy."

The bootleggers are buying property and are increasingly prosperous. This is a great temptation to well-meaning respectable people. They have no scruples about the law. "Why, everybody does it," they say. When hard times come through loss of employment or sickness, what better way, they think, to supplement the family income than by a little venture in bootlegging?

The young people who come to the neighborhood dances do not, as a rule, indulge in wild parties. They have a rather old-fashioned point of view and look with scant respect on the girl, especially, who drinks, smokes, and goes to wild all-night parties. The members of a neighborhood mothers' club feel that the disregard of the law is so universal that they do not connect any sense of personal responsibility or conscience with it. When questioned closely they are none of them willing to stand for the return of the open saloon.

The observation of the social work group may be summarized as follows: there is general disregard of the law and a scorn for it; there are numerous opportunities for buying liquor, especially "overnight" and "white lightning"; most of the men drink something every day; by far the larger proportion of them drink what they make in their own homes and many drink only temperately, as they are afraid of the stuff that is on sale;

they spend much less on liquor now than in the day of the open saloon; hence their families are better off.

On the whole, while conditions are by no means so good as they should be, they are unquestionably better than they were in the day of the open saloon.

CHAPTER X

THE SOUTH

CENTURIES ago Ponce de Leon sought in Florida the fountain of perpetual youth and continuous happiness. Today thousands of men and women, facing the reality of winter and the autumn of life, seek to prolong youth and its joys, to defer old age by living on the warm sun-flooded beaches of Florida's mild seacoast.

Near enough to complicate Florida's problem of prohibition enforcement lie the British Bahamas, a group of little, wet, tropical islands lying off Florida's eastern coast. Tourists in Florida travel to and from Nassau, the principal city of the Bahama group, passing pleasantly from a legally dry Palm Beach to the legally wet island of New Providence. The rich man's yacht can make the round trip in four hours. Excursionists, lingering in Nassau, take a much longer time. Prohibition in Florida, it is said, has made the Bahamas rich. How has it affected Florida itself?

Florida reports the same complications that all other coast and border cities report. There is much smuggling of illicit liquors. The demand on the part of the many rich tourists gives impetus and rich reward to the trade. Officials find it difficult to be severe on petty offenders whose wealth cannot defend or protect them.

"—— is a notably wet city," reports the general secretary of the —— Family Welfare Association. "Both

police and federal authorities are extremely lax. It is quite likely that many families, who under other circumstances might be dependents, are earning a rich living through bootlegging. Liquor is sold almost openly and there is also a great deal of drinking among the young people. The sentences for drunkenness are very light and the results of a short time in prison not effective."

According to this social-service worker, intemperance has not been a serious problem in the families coming under the care of the association. Florida experienced a brief financial boom which attracted the attention of the entire nation. This boom brought hundreds of thousands of inadequately financed people scurrying south in their automobiles. The roads into Florida were choked with cheap little cars. Camp fires lighted the way along the roads from Minnesota into the new El Dorado. Work was plenty. Building was booming—skyscrapers and bungalows and gorgeous hotels. Real-estate holdings soared. Banks loaned generously for granite and mushroom enterprises.

The boom lived the normal life of booms and was followed by the inevitable period of deflation and readjustment. In the summer of 1926 a hurricane rose out of the sea and struck Florida, ruining crops and harvests, toppling down buildings, wrecking hopes, and spreading devastation in a wide swathe.

"For the last year there has been a serious financial depression and a great deal of unemployment," says the report from the social worker in ——. "In 97 per cent of the cases applying to the Family Service Association from September 1st, 1924, to October 1st, 1925, intemperance played no part in the family distress. During the following year, intemperance as a cause of distress increased

but .3 per cent in the families under our care. It is quite likely that intemperance is the problem in many more of our cases than we know. In the few cases which we have had, women have shielded their husbands and protected them from court action. The number of cases in which intemperance has been a contributory cause to desertion and nonsupport has increased steadily in the past year; however, this number is still small and represents a small per cent of the number of intemperance problems which there probably are in ——."

Leaving the coral reef which is Florida, traveling north, we come into Georgia, a state far more typically Southern both physically and psychologically than the more southern state. The palm trees of Florida beneath which a large leisured class rest and play fade into the picture of three million spindles, ceaselessly swirling and whirling, and attended in their dervish dancing by thousands of young children. Over 50,000 looms weave, weave; yardage enough to swaddle the earth and to throw a lariat over the moon; looms weaving new destinies for "poor white folk" and the Negro race, weaving new destinies for the Old South, weaving shrouds for its old, dead traditions and altar cloths for its new sanctities.

Georgia is the second cotton state in America. Water power is abundant and it drives the spindles and looms. Forty-two per cent of the population are Negro and 15 per cent of its population are illiterate. It was the conjunction of cheap water power, cheap labor, and proximity to the raw product that induced owners of New England mills to move south. Employers have found in Georgia and other Southern states, at least temporarily, relief from contentious strikes, from high wages

and hampering legislation; from the necessity of importing both the raw material up from the South and coal from Western fields.

Georgia voted for state prohibition in 1907 and therefore it has had twenty years in which to test the social effects of prohibition upon the working people; to note whether social happiness and prosperity are dependent upon other factors than intemperance.

"We have made a survey of our present open cases in order to see how far today the question of intemperance is a problem in our work," the secretary of the Family Welfare Society of —— writes. "This month we have 1,220 families under our care. In twenty-eight of these families intemperance is an important factor in the situation. That is, in about 2 per cent and a little over. Twenty-seven of these families are white, and one is colored. In four of the white cases we have recently had men in the families serve a sentence on a liquor charge. This will indicate that at present the question of intemperance is only a small factor in our social problem. Undoubtedly this is a result in part of the passage of the amendment, but since our society kept no statistical records during the period before the prohibition law was passed, we are unable to supply any comparative statements."

Even with this showing for a typical Southern mill town it would seem that prohibition enforcement has been effective among the workers; far more so than for the dwellers under leisurely swaying palms.

We are still in the land of cotton in South Carolina. On the moist, sub-tropical coast grows the sea-island cotton, the finest in the country. More spindles whirl here

than in Georgia, more looms weave. From the port of Charleston thousands of bales of cotton are shipped to the waiting spindles of England, of France, of Italy and Germany. South Sea Islanders, East Indians, Samoans, Guianans, and Eskimos will wear the cottons of the Cotton States. Kimonos and loin cloths, and trousseaus; fairy embroideries of St. Gall for baby princes, and coarse prints for naked coolies; bandages for the dying and veils for the brides—such the separate destinies of the cotton from our fertile South.

Much of the cheap labor of South Carolina is supplied by mountain families, "poor whites" who generations ago retreated into the mountains rather than demean themselves by working in competition with Negro slave labor. Now that the word "labor" is no longer synonymous with the word "slave" and "Negro," the poor whites have been lured down from their remote hills. The whistles of the factories have shattered their isolation. Exchanging the slow yield of the ungracious mountains for the quick return of the weekly pay envelope, these untutored, simple people have crowded into the factories, letting their children of fourteen years and over by the thousands tend the indifferent spindles. New towns have sprung up about new mills, brand-new towns owned exclusively by the mill company from the door sill of the spinner's shack to the tip of the church's spire. The mill whistle is systole and diastole of the town life.

Over half of the population of South Carolina is Negro. Eighteen per cent of the population is illiterate, but this figure is a tremendous drop from 1910, when it was over 25 per cent.

South Carolina, in common with the South in general, has not been a statistic-gathering state; hence inquiries

as to how prohibition was working were difficult for social workers to answer in terms of absolute comparisons. Prohibition was not precipitated upon the state by national enactment, South Carolina having gone dry in 1915 after a unique experiment with a state dispensary system. During this period South Carolina sought to take the profit motive out of the sale of liquor by conducting the business itself.

Miss ——, case supervisor for the Bureau of Social Welfare in ——, says that "of the thirty-five children under their care in September, 1926, alcoholism appears as a major cause in the dependency of sixteen children; twenty-seven of the thirty-five children are whites, and the remaining number are Negroes. Among these children we have a legal custody of five children whose father is a bootlegger and who is well known to be in the employ of one of the bootleggers, who seems to be beyond the power of the law. These cases which I cite are a very small number of cases on which to base any conclusions and I hesitate to quote them on that account."

Very dramatic raids have been conducted in Hell Hole Swamp and in the county generally.

"There is, however," a South Carolinian social worker states, "a very strong sentiment that the people largely responsible for the industry, as usual, escape. The general sentiment in this community is that the law is unenforceable and, beyond a few outstanding temperance people, there is absolutely no sentiment or feeling that there is any disgrace attached to the violation of the Eighteenth Amendment."

From Charleston comes a report that the fact that because the city is a seaport, a naval station, and an army

post, enforcement of national prohibition is complicated manyfold.

The 5,000,000 spindles of South Carolina drop to 700,000 in Virginia. The Negro population drops to about 30 per cent of the whole. Illiteracy drops to 11 per cent. Tobacco takes the place of cotton as first in importance in the state. The cigar and cigarette industry led all other industries with a product of over $60,000,000 in 1923. Poor whites—"hill billies" as they are called—and Negroes do the work of factory, mill, and field.

In old Virginia grew the flower of American feudalism. An atmosphere of leisurely romance clings still to the state and its lovely, stately homes with their white pillars and overhanging wistaria. The Blue Ridge Mountains, Shenandoah Valley, early American history, and culture are part of her fame. And the whisky bottle on the political buffet of the Virginia gentleman, the port in its crystal carafe, these, too, are part of Virginia's tradition.

One by one Virginia renounced her traditions, feudalism and chivalry and slavery; renounced the life of leisurely elegance for the staccato beat of modern factory production; even renounced the decanter on the old Chippendale sideboard. Virginia went dry in 1914, a short time before the national enactment of prohibition.

"The effect of state prohibition was almost impossible to measure because of the war conditions and high wages," writes a former worker in the Associated Charities of ——. "I do know that there was a very great difference in the amount of work done due directly to the removal of the saloon. This condition continued for a number of years after the prohibition law was passed in

Virginia. The superintendent of the Lying-in City Hospital told me the free wards for women were almost empty for months afterward. She attributed this fact entirely to prohibition. She told me that the lack of shooting cases, accident cases, and women's diseases had almost emptied her formerly crowded wards.

"The number of cases coming to us in which drinking was the main cause of poverty had not gone back to pre-prohibition figures when I left the work, but they had increased. Also we strongly suspected that many of the men of our families were engaged in the bootlegging business. The large profits possible may have accounted for our having fewer calls from drinking men's families. It was impossible to get accurate information as to whether fewer calls from the families of drinking men were due to the profits of bootlegging or to there being less drinking."

Cotton drops almost out of the picture as we come on up the coast north and into Maryland. The Chesapeake Bay, a wide arm of the Atlantic, cleaves the state and makes Baltimore a great seaport. We are still in dominantly American country, more American than Boston, more American than Providence. The Negro population is about 17 per cent of the white population. The percentage of illiteracy for the whole state is but 5.6 and educational advantages for the masses are fast lifting this burden of ignorance from the state. Part of the decrease in illiteracy is due to the migrations of many Negroes from Maryland, as from other Southern states, to Northern factory centers.

Working people in the cities and towns are employed in the garment trades, in steel and rolling mills, in to-

bacco factories. They labor in the oyster beds, in the fields, in the coal mines.

Maryland did not have state prohibition before the enactment of the national law. In contrast with the flourishing sentiment for prohibition in other Southern states, sentiment for such legislation grew slowly in Maryland. By 1884 only thirteen of her twenty-three counties were dry. Some of these changed their minds and by 1914, when fourteen states were under state prohibition and vast areas under local option, Maryland remained where she was in 1884. Baltimore particularly insisted on preserving the old traditions associated with liquor and hospitality, insisted on drinking in spite of the fact that the most noted medical school, Johns Hopkins University, was in her midst.

"The old saloon was a cause of poverty and took much of the earner's money before he ever reached home," is the opinion of ——, a social worker in Baltimore. "There were all kinds of saloons in Baltimore, those that were the source of family discord, of disorder and crime; those that were cheerful meeting places for homeless men; those that were places where the poor man in his working clothes and the immigrant felt at home.

"Since the passing of the saloon there is less apparent disorder on the streets and a noticeable change for the better through this entire community. A family which had been known to a charity organization for a period of over five years, went through one of the most startling changes I can remember at this time.

"The man had come from a long line of drinking people and had been a chronic drinker ever since his marriage. There were four children and they had never known anything but the utmost poverty. The wife, a

woman of fairly good type, had become shiftless, lazy, and despondent. She was constantly appealing to the Welfare Association for funds. When prohibition went into effect the husband could not get whisky at the corner saloon and did not have the money or apparently the enterprise to get it elsewhere. He had always made fairly good wages as a day laborer and these wages now went into the home for furniture, food, fuel, and clothing. Both father and mother became interested in fixing their home attractively and for the first time in their lives they had coal in their cellar. Every phase of their lives was influenced by this change."

His story is matched in Baltimore, according to this social worker, in many other homes where furniture, the cheaper makes of autos, musical instruments, radios were bought and amusements afforded. "The women like the law, but the men do not," she says. "The Baltimore court records show that there is a great deal of illicit manufacture and bootlegging and considerably more drinking than formerly among minors."

Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland are Southern coast states. Rum-running along the coasts is a new industry. The innumerable indentures of the seacoast, the isolation of many miles of coast from population, the rivers feeding up into the back countries, add to the difficulty and expense of enforcing the prohibition law; a difficulty which far inland states can scarcely understand.

An old home of "moonshine" whisky has been for many, many years the Tennessee and Kentucky mountains. Up in lonely cabins, defending themselves with guns against their enemy, the revenue man, mountaineers have been making corn whisky for generations.

These people—Americans—resented being told by their state what they should do with their own "cawn." Resented paying a tax on their own home-still profits. Sought to escape the expense of the revenue tax. Their product was "bootleg" long before national prohibition made that product famous, and statewide.

Today, the mountaineer resents federal interference in his inherited "right" of whisky making, just as he resented state interference. These resisters are not city foreigners, not late arrivals from Europe, not criminals in the sense that the yeggman of the city is, the hold-up man. In all other respects than moonshining he is a solid, lanky citizen, cherishing Nordic prides, patriotic to frenzy when the demand is made upon him. These moonshiners are Americans with an ancestry as straight back to early days as the Emersons of Boston.

Kentucky and Tennessee tilt downward like a wide toboggan from the Great Smoky Mountains to the Mississippi River bottoms. Its mountains and tablelands are contiguous; both states have the same broken, uneven topography; both states are eminently American; in neither state is the foreigner significant in influence.

Kentucky is famous for its "blue-grass country," for its thoroughbred horses, for its races, for its "blue-blood Nordics," and—formerly—for its Bourbon whisky. The distilleries of Kentucky looked across the Ohio River to the breweries of Ohio. A few foreigners, Germans in preponderance, have crossed the Ohio River into Kentucky, but Americans are everywhere dominant. Americans do the work of the state; they labor in the vast corn and tobacco fields and tobacco factories; they labor in forests and mines and in oil fields.

In 1919, in a closely contested election, Kentucky adopted state prohibition after forty-five years of continuous agitation. Previous to this election many sections of Kentucky were already under local option. Such a section was the mountain section of the state where the "poor whites" lived. From this district comes a report from the Pine Mountain Settlement School of Harlan County.

"You see," writes Miss Katherine Pettit, "all the mountain region was put under local option by legislative enactment along about 1870, because of the lawlessness and inability to enforce the law in a country where people live so far from the county seat, sometimes two days' journey. The United States government immediately gave license to establish government stills in this locality, which made a very bad state of affairs. I have been working in the mountains thirty-one years, and it is true that there is not nearly so much drinking now as there was, though there is still moonshining in some localities. The ones who drink are mostly the older people and the younger ones who do not come to our schools.

"There is still a great deal of murder on account of drunkenness. Only the other day at a wedding a drunken boy killed his brother and shot two other men, but there is much less of this than formerly, and on the whole things are greatly improved along this line.

"A number of the mountain women from the neighborhood came to see me one day and they all remarked on how much better the liquor situation is. Of course, there are the same opportunities for making moonshine that there always have been, but we do find that the children who have been to our schools do not drink, and of

course do not partake in moonshining, so it seems that our salvation lies plainly in education of the children."

Up here in the Kentucky mountains live a poor people; everybody is "working people," says Miss Pettit. Saloons, dance halls, ward bosses—these are unknown words to them. Prohibition has not brought the flood of luxuries and amusements that social workers think it has brought in other places. The life of the Kentucky mountaineer is a "hard life with no amusements except what the schools offer. Prohibition has made no difference in family prospects. Our mothers' clubs are much opposed to drinking and do not let their children have it. There is, on the whole, less drinking in this neighborhood because of education. Education is our real problem and things are improving along all lines of social well-being through education. Education is our hope."

In Tennessee's mountains live Americans. On the high plateaus and tablelands live Americans. On the rich river bottoms live Americans. By rocks and rills, in the woods and templed hills, live Americans. Not even 1 per cent of her people are born outside of America. The only division in the population is a division of Americans—white Americans and Negroes. American muscles wield the axes that cut the deep forests of poplar and oak, hemlock and chestnut and gum. American hands feed the sawmills and pile lumber on the great flat river boats. American hands, black and white, raise the cotton, bale it, spin it, and weave it on looms. American backs bend over the tobacco plants and American workingmen dig the coal. Tennessee is as American as the Declaration of Independence.

Tennessee, in its reconstruction period following the Civil War, passed a law forbidding saloons within two miles of a school. If a group of Tennessee folk didn't want a saloon they had only to vote for a school. Moreover, this radius of two miles kept growing longer and longer until all Tennessee except three big cities and two small ones was swept within the ever-widening circumference. Then in 1909 Americans voted Tennessee all dry from Mt. Lookout on its eastern border to the Mississippi River. Tennessee was the seventh state to follow the Maine example and to follow the Puritan conscientious objection to drinking.

"We suffered as all states did which had passed state prohibition laws, by liquor being brought into the state, and the only improvement at that time was there was no saloon tolerated. There was much drinking, trouble, and misfortune. However, it would be a mistake to say that alcohol was an important cause of poverty or social hardship, as poverty in Tennessee has not disappeared. Poverty is due more probably to economic conditions." These are the conclusions of a worker in one of Tennessee's large cities.

"There can be no question that the 'demon rum' was a disturber of domestic peace and it has also been used as a good piece of temperance propaganda.

"After years of prohibition there is still little civic pride or spirit manifested in the group coming to this organization. One sees fewer drunks and I think that happiness and well-being may have had an upward trend, but poverty since prohibition has not lessened. Wages have not been extremely high in the textile mills in this community during this period and the general happiness seems to me to come from the fact that the male member

of the family comes home in better frame of mind. There does not seem to be more money available.

"In our community—a mill group—in spite of prohibition, deserting husbands and fathers are on the increase. There are more children removed from parents by the Juvenile Court than at any time since the court has been established. Most Juvenile Court cases, according to the judge, have always been and still are due to parental ignorance and indifference, and the utter incapability of parents for the responsibility of parenthood.

"The Police Commissioner states that the records of the department show that crimes of every description are on the increase, that the streets are crowded as ever with disorderly women. Our connection with the drug clinic proved that people who had been addicted to the use of alcohol turned to drugs in alarming numbers.

"It is the opinion of the Police Department that the passage of the national prohibition amendment made very little difference one way or another with crime; but since the law is becoming less observed than immediately after its passage, crime has been on the increase in ——.

"My personal observation, and also that of those who are dealing with youth in this community, is that drinking among minors is on the increase. Violators of the amendment appear to be protected in some way; probably more through the laxity of enforcement than through graft or politics. The fines are small and mean nothing.

"As to poverty among the people the Associated Charities handle, I cannot say that illicit manufacturing or bootlegging of whisky has very much to do with

poverty. The poverty of this section is largely due to the industrial situation and this has always been the case. There are hundreds of children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen working. Out of the 2,500 families handled by this office during the year I should say that 70 per cent to 80 per cent of the mothers are wage earners.

"Race groups feel that prohibition has been beneficial and group behavior seems to have improved.

"Eastern Tennessee is the headwater of illicit whisky. I base my statements on the fact that the mountain folk have inherited the knowledge of making corn whisky. They are still continuing to do it and there are innumerable raids on such places during the year. There are no bootleggers that we know of in the social group coming under our attention.

"The different Y. M. C. A.'s and the large Bible groups feel that the Eighteenth Amendment should be enforced, and up in the mountains in a summer camp for boys the leader teaches the boys obedience.

"The heads of two different settlements feel that their neighborhoods have been greatly benefited, particularly with the abolition of the saloon."

Alabama, the real Old South, is one of the states south of the Mason and Dixon line which is experiencing the "gold rush" of capital within its boundaries. Too, it is experiencing all the consequent dilemmas involved in social readjustments and reëvaluations.

Cotton is its oldest, and is still the leading, industry with a million and a half spindles and over 25,000 looms. Cotton growing, cotton spinning, cotton woven into fabrics, into talk and dreams, into fortunes and wages. New

York nervously awaiting the flash of the news of the crop; tickers and wires sending messages about cotton to the Bourses of the world. The great federal government hovering over the cotton fields like an anxious midwife, offering advice, furnishing service, fighting blight and boll weevil. The bread of the worker in Manchester, England, bought with the cotton of Alabama—the South. The morning *croissant* of the little midinette of Paris dependent upon the cotton of America.

But cotton is not all. Lately the mineral interests have made of Birmingham a "Pittsburgh of the South." Deposits of iron ore and many, many square miles of coal lie beneath the ground awaiting only the drill of the miner, the inrush of capital. And the soil itself is richest silt. It is all-American soil washed down by the Appalachians. And Alabamans are all Americans, there being less than three foreigners to a square mile.

For less favored soils than Alabama there are the nitrate-fixation plants on the Tennessee River rapids at Muscle Shoals. Here power is generated in great units; here nitrate is taken from the air for fertilizing deserts.

In Alabama, two out of five people are Negroes; in some counties 80 per cent of the population is black. Six years ago the census showed that 6.5 per cent of the white population was illiterate and 31.3 per cent of the Negro population.

Alabama passed a state prohibition law in 1907 which was "violently repealed" in 1911, but reinstated in 1915. By many people it was considered a necessary means of controlling the enormous undisciplined, uneducated, irresponsible colored population.

"When I began work in Alabama in 1915 there were no saloons in the county, owing to the local option law,"

writes a social worker connected with one of the Associated Charities in northern Alabama. "Alcohol was not an important cause of poverty or at least did not seem so to me. It may have been that I was so much more interested in other conditions that I did not notice such cases of intemperance as there were. I found drunkenness in only a few families. What I did see was the lack of compulsory education and lack of provision for children needing special care.

"Then came the period of the war when this section of Alabama was crowded with people from all sections of the United States on account of the work being done here by the government—the building of the two nitrate plants, and later the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals. Wages were high and drinking was common among the workmen, although it did not seem to affect our clients directly. We were not so much bothered with drinking as a problem, but we were swamped with cases of desertion, immorality, and illegitimacy.

"We had a host of unstable families and individuals who came as 'camp followers.' With the completion of these government projects our population has gradually become more normal and we have less of the type mentioned above.

"The last year we have been troubled with an entirely different phase of the prohibition problem. We have a number of widows arrested for bootlegging. We have also had a number of families to care for in which the father was in jail for bootlegging. Secondhand Fords are the bootlegger's chief deputies. It does not seem to be the clients of the Charities that do the drinking; it is rather 'the man higher up.'

"There is discrimination in the enforcement of the law.

The men who buy liquor who have friends and influence and money are either not arrested or are allowed to go with fines. The poor man who makes the stuff must pay the full penalty. There have been a great many pardons for violation of the liquor law.

"I noticed a few days ago an item in the daily paper of an adjoining county, stating that there were more prisoners in the jail than there had ever been before in its history. Most of the men had been arrested for making whisky and were from remote sections of the county. Nearly all were poor men. I know of one or two instances in which men have made money bootlegging and are in comfortable circumstances. One such was arrested a few weeks ago but escaped by a technicality, although his still was the largest one ever found in this vicinity.

"People openly resent the discrimination in the enforcement of the law. I talked with one county sheriff, an upright, intelligent man, regarding this matter of discrimination in law enforcement. He stated, 'Why the people would not stand for the arrest of men of standing in the community for violation of the liquor laws.'

"A probate judge recently told me that he would stand no chance for reëlection, as he had made too many enemies by the stand he had taken on the enforcement of the prohibition law. He stated that men did not talk this openly, but that he knew it was true.

"We seem to be making hypocrites out of people, and yet with all we may say against prohibition I believe society is better than when we did not have the law."

Shedding light on the situation in the South comes a letter from a college-bred colored woman, giving the at-

titude of the intelligent Negro toward the question of prohibition and its enforcement.

"The effect of state prohibition was certainly beneficial among both white and colored people. Before that, just in our own neighborhood there had been so much disturbance from drunkards of both races that high fences with gates surrounded the yards of certain residents to keep out unwelcome night loafers. This particular corner seemed to be a favorite lounging place for those who had been drinking, and also a convenient place to throw their empty bottles.

"Colored people," she says, "dared not sit in a lighted room with their shades up, for fear of falling easy prey to those who carried hip guns as well as hip flasks and who shot for fun.

"Ours is a factory town with quite a large population of working people who hold Nordic traditions of race supremacy. Saturday night it was not wise nor safe for colored people to go to town.

"With the coming of state prohibition, fences were torn down and the town became as safe for the colored population as a Southern town ever is safe for a Negro, and poverty was somewhat decreased. Now one seldom sees a drunken person of either race on the street.

"With the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment came a change. With its jealousy of state rights, white Alabama found it to be an evidence of personal as well as state independence to show it could still drink. Bootlegging, which already had some adherents, became a really profitable and flourishing business. Colored people find it easier to get than in the days between state prohibition and national prohibition. Then, too, there are some who profit by bootlegging."

She sums up the situation, especially as it relates to her own race: "Without doubt prohibition has been of untold benefit to this community and we are fervently thankful for it. There are hundreds who are sustained and strengthened by not having the temptation of the open saloon and the easy access through grocery store, café, and drug store."

Not one report from the South gives over-indulgence in liquor as the chief source of poverty or even of hampered and limited existence. Among these wage earners, these factory hands and field workers, among the distressed who turn to the Charities for the solution of their difficulties, among the sick who turn to public nurses and welfare agencies—among all these people liquor does not appear, except in a few cases, to be the primary cause of distress.

In the first place, the South has been dry over a longer period than any other large section of the country. Where state prohibition did not obtain, local option covered great sections of the state. It is the opinion of social workers generally that the prohibition laws were fairly thoroughly enforced for the Negroes, if not so conscientiously interpreted for the whites. This situation does not rise in the innate wickedness of man, to be scourged out of him by punishment. It rises rather in an economic necessity or out of a psychological attitude, or both.

The need of keeping a large, illiterate, childlike race sober, that the necessary work of the world be done, became apparent in early days throughout the cotton country. Moreover the white race, with its traditions of race superiority, felt itself the guardian of the "inferior"

race, its habits and morals. A "white man can carry his liquor" was sanctified tradition. A Southern gentleman had a decanter of sherry on his sideboard, but the cotton picker had neither the sherry nor the sideboard.

As Northern capital began to flow into the South, as factories and workshops began to appear, as mills moved down from New England, as mines opened, it became even more apparent that labor, for the most part illiterate, undisciplined to factory life, unaccustomed to machines—labor must be kept sober. It must be kept safe. For liquor had a way of releasing the pent-up passions and hatreds of a race so recently a slave race, still held in a position of racial inferiority.

The South knew how to interpret its own laws, interpret them as laws always are interpreted, according to the established customs and traditions of the community. Prohibition was like the franchise—everybody had it in theory, but in practice it was found expedient to put class limitations upon it. There was nothing evil or even disobedient in the attitude of the South. Interpretation of their laws followed the *mores* of the people and found their sanctions in something far deeper than moral compulsions and reasoned "justice."

Then came federal prohibition. Federal officers—what do they know of the problem of the South, of Southern traditions, of daily contacts with an "inferior race"? There was jealousy of state rights. Political jealousies. A Republican government with its immense patronage was telling the Democratic South how to run prohibition enforcement. And so there was friction.

But far more pressing than the problem of enforcing prohibition are other problems confronting the social workers. Poverty is a problem—not the poverty of

drunkenness at all, but the poverty that results from ignorance, from an inadequate mental equipment with which to meet new situations, from extraneous factors such as overproduction of cotton, the disuse of cotton as a result of the substitution of silk and rayon products, the hurricane that rose out of the sea, ruining harvests and crops, illnesses and sicknesses that beset the illiterate, ignorant worker and his family; and most of all the poverty that arises not in a temporary condition but has its origin in inadequate wages.

Education is the problem that bulks largest in the South today—education to fit the exploited "poor white", to deserve and demand better wages, a fuller life; education to fit the colored man for recognition. Teachers, social workers, nurses, without exception, of both races, say education is their problem.

The race problem presents itself, runs through the story of enforcement. Why enforce prohibition when the other amendment—the franchise for all citizens—is nonenforced? asks the black man. A race problem, dark and sinister, and the darkness and danger of an illiterate proletariat in its ignorance breaking down the high standard of American life that makes living in America the dream of every hungry foreigner. The answers to the prohibition survey from the South were not full. Social workers returned them, saying, for the most part: "These are not our problems. Education is."

CHAPTER XI

COTTON, CORN, AND CATTLE

On both sides of the Mississippi lies the cotton country—the old cotton country of Mississippi—the new cotton country of Oklahoma. It is characteristically agricultural, and cities and towns occur infrequently and irresponsibly, and even when they are discoverable there is apt to be no organized social service. The old country is more or less a one-crop region and does not tend to large cities or the presence of social workers; its problems are the problems of the country and largely of the Black Belt. It has been the immemorial custom of the white race to see to it that the black race did not drink. The report of Mrs. Freeman Brougher of the Community Welfare Association of Jackson, Mississippi, is probably typical.

"We have no settlement houses in Jackson, nothing resembling one, and the questionnaire is so long and tedious, I can answer for our town in a few words. Mississippi has had a local-option law since 1886 and Jackson has had no saloons for over thirty years; therefore, the question of drunkenness has never entered into our social problems to any degree. I have one case only at this time where the man is a confirmed alcoholic and drinks extracts, Alcorub and other stuff."

Oklahoma is a different case. It does many things besides grow cotton and cane. It drills oil and plants

wheat; it entertains Indians unawares and rather specializes in bustling young cities. It came into its statehood only in 1907 and it came in dry. This was theoretically for the protection of the Indians whose domain it had been and who still lived there in large numbers. The government's policy everywhere, as distinct from the policy of the traders, had been to keep alcohol and Indians apart. It was the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, and it is practically the same policy and pursued for the same reason that made Mississippi and other parts of the South dry—the dominant whites feared the effect of liquor on the subject race and were willing to break the law themselves, if they must, in order to be safe. But the white population of Oklahoma is a far more diverse group than the whites of Mississippi—they are a new people—homesteaders, exploiters, and the traders that serve them; and if prohibition had not been written into the Oklahoma constitution as a condition of statehood, there is every indication that, Indians and Negroes notwithstanding, the state would have been wet. How does the amendment affect it?

Tulsa is its largest city—very young and very rich. It has established, however, a Family Welfare Society. Miss Grace E. Cone, the general secretary, says: "We do not see very many drunken persons on the streets of our city. There seems to be a considerable amount of intemperance among the Indians. We do not have many families come to us where drunkenness is the cause of their dependency. During the year and a half in which our society has been in existence we have had quite a number of families reported to us where drink has interfered with their happiness and general prosperity. In most of these cases the man is middle aged or past, and

began to drink in his early youth. Our case count from April 1, 1925, to December 31, 1925, shows that intemperance was the problem in ten families."

Oklahoma City, not quite so large but a little older, has also a family service organization—the United Provident Association.

Miss Grace A. Browning, Supervisor, District No. 1, says: "Of course, some of our workers recall that when Oklahoma City was under Oklahoma territorial government, there were many open saloons here and they formed a center for much of the lawlessness and disorder which were prevalent. It would be difficult to decide, however, how much of this disorder might be attributed to the existence of the open saloon and how much was a natural part of life in a 'boom town.'

"We do not find that the manufacture and consumption of liquor have been the determining factors in the cause of poverty among our families, although it is in many instances a contributory cause. At the present time we are reasonably certain that several of our families are engaged in the illicit manufacture and sale of liquor, and occasionally a man is prosecuted and the care of his family falls on us while he serves a term. We also have several families where it is reported to us that the man spends most of his income for liquor, but it is hard to determine whether he would adequately support his family even if he were not permitted to drink."

For whatever reason they started it and for whatever reason they keep it up—whether it works unjustly as between classes and races or whether it is a fair and democratic regulation, honestly applied—on the whole, as the social workers of these two states see it, there

is a reasonable enforcement of the law; in neither case is alcohol a grave social problem.

There can be no better proof that the success or failure of prohibition laws depends on the people they are tried on, and the circumstances under which the trial is made, than the history of events in Kansas. Ever since the beginning of this study people have been asking, "How are things in Kansas?" Some have told me that the Eighteenth Amendment has absolutely destroyed what prohibition the state had achieved previously, that everybody drinks there as a matter of course, and that the demoralization of the young is *appalling*. Others point with pride to the much-heralded generation which has grown up in Kansas "without ever seeing a saloon." The truth of that statement would seem to depend on what part of Kansas they grew up in.

The state went dry in 1880 and bone dry in 1915, and in the country districts, which are most of Kansas, this was a complete and effective performance. In those parts of the state given over to cities the drought was not by any means so complete. The saloons ran in such cities as Wichita, paid the fines the authorities imposed upon them—and ran on. While it is true that the Kansas generation that never saw a saloon must have remained uninterruptedly upon the paternal acres, it is also true that the group which insists that, since the amendment, the state has indulged in a drunken orgy, has simply no basis of comparison.

Wichita is as typical a city as Kansas has. A cattle town in the early days, it became a grain town and a distributing market and a railroad center. It has accumulated some 100,000 inhabitants and has effectively

organized its social work. Mr. M. W. Woods, executive secretary of the Wichita League for Social Work, writes:

"I cannot answer the questionnaire in the divisions and subdivisions as presented. I have lived in Kansas for twenty-seven years, my children have grown to womanhood, graduated from college, and have never seen a saloon. Kansas has always been constitutionally dry, and has always been practically dry in the larger part of its community life. Here and there were isolated communities where real saloons existed and where regular bars were established, but they were always in defiance of law and existed over the protest of the large majority of Kansas citizens. Wichita was such a place when I first came to it; it had its commercialized vice and its open saloons. It was the last stand of the old frontier cowboy days. But one day Wichita woke up, wiped the entire thing off the map, and in six months' time every corner that had been occupied by a saloon was occupied by a respectable business.

"There were a few other wet places, almost exclusively confined to the mining districts of southeastern Kansas. These in turn gave way, long before the Volstead Act, to a respect for Kansas prohibition. During the past twenty-five years it was only a very, very isolated community where the open saloon was tolerated. Kansas, as Kansas, has always respected and enforced, as best it could, its prohibitory law. Of course, there were violations in every community and liquor was sold in every community, just as men in every community continued to steal and to violate other laws, and I presume will continue to do so as long as men are human, law or no law.

"The saloon and commercialized vice in Wichita were

independently the product of the last stand in frontier life; both disappeared as Wichita emerged from the sombrero to the tuxedo. I want to register this as my own personal conviction, that the open saloon in the early days of Kansas was not an institution by the people and for the people, but an absolutely separate thing, promoted and maintained by a very small and unrepresentative class of people. At no time did it voice the spirit or desires of Kansas. It had but little, if any, influence in the economic welfare of the communities or in neighborly or civic affairs.

"There has been little or no change whatever, so far as we can see, either in the matter of general happiness or the amount of poverty, or in the general well-being of community life. The drinking of liquor in Kansas during the past years has never been a serious economic question. If liquor has been sold, and I think there is no question as to the fact, yet wages have increased during the past few years and given people many more comforts and larger incomes, but if any of these creature comforts has been purchased because less has been spent on drink, I am very free to state that I do not know of a single instance where such has been true.

"In the seventeen years that I have been the executive secretary of a family welfare agency I have never been able to find a great deal of relationship between the use of alcohol and poverty. Those cases having alcohol as the exclusive cause of distress are so few as to be almost a vanishing point. It is true that we have a small number of cases in which the occasional use of alcohol as a beverage appears, but it is only one of the contributing causes, and not often the main cause. In the 350 cases of the past month I can think of only one

case in which the use of alcoholic drink presents any problem.

"I am very much amused at your question as to what took the place of the saloon. First of all, we never had any saloons, except a few here and there, but I travel quite frequently, and in those states where they have saloons there is one thing that I miss very, very much, and that is the Kansas drug store with its soda fountain, thoroughly equipped and most efficiently managed. Somehow or other you do not find in those states where they have saloons the same kind of institution as we have in Kansas in our drug-store soda fountains. Attempts were made to make near-beer gardens supply a common meeting ground. These have been failures. The soda fountain has triumphed, and I believe is used in Kansas as in no other state in the Union. The saloon never had a place in Kansas and I am safe in saying today that 90 per cent of the boys and girls, natives of Kansas, who are in our schools and high schools today have never seen a saloon, so your question is immaterial and irrelevant.

"There is another question that amuses me somewhat; it is: If the family of the bootlegger is increasingly prosperous, what of the rest of the neighbors? I am willing to stake a new hat that you will not find a prosperous bootlegger in Kansas today. He may flourish for a time, but the law finally gets him and always breaks him. He seldom goes to jail, but all his profits are swept away keeping him out of the penitentiary. I cannot help but smile when I think of the bootlegger as increasingly prosperous. About the only burden that the use of alcoholic liquors brings to this office is the caring for the bootlegger's family while he lies in jail serving his sen-

tence, not having made sufficient profit to pay his fine. We usually have two or three families such as this under our care at all times. The Lord pity the poor bootlegger; certainly the courts do not!

"I presume there are many stills in Wichita and that there are many stills all over the state of Kansas, and that there are many bootleggers plying their trade, and that there is considerable so-called liquor consumed, but when you take into consideration all the factors, the marvel to me is that our prohibitory laws are as successful as they are; but I am convinced of this, that Kansas enforces the prohibitory law just as successfully as it enforces its law against grand larceny, murder, arson, and other crimes against person and property.

"Probably this statement will answer every question you have asked: we have never had saloons except in certain quarters, so we have had to deal only with the bootlegger. We have watched him flourish as the green bay tree and we are now watching him pass out. He has never been an organized force; only a fleeting force. The Volstead Act did not disturb social conscience and traditions in Kansas as it did elsewhere, so that the basis of comparison is not here."

The situation in Topeka, as Miss Mary Neiswanger of the Provident Association sees it, is not so very different from Mr. Woods' picture of Wichita.

"As Kansas has been a prohibition state since 1880, there was no 'before the war-time prohibition.' From 1918 to 1921 there was a continuance of that happiness and well-being that had prevailed for the years since 1880 in Kansas. Wages were high, employment rather steady, and less money spent on drink. There is no doubt in the minds of any that there is bootlegging

and illicit manufacture in some localities of every city. This belief is based upon the arrests made. In 1925 in Topeka there were 786 liquor violations, 561 of these being drunks. In the first six months of 1926 there have been 228 liquor cases; 150 of these were drunks. Kansas has been considered as 90 per cent enforcement. There have been only a few financially successful bootleggers in Topeka in the past year, due to the high court cost, fines, etc., put into more strenuous effect the past year. The violators in the city are not politically protected; there is no political graft in the disregard of the amendment."

Wichita and Topeka are large; Emporia is small and by that fact more typical of the state. Mrs. G. H. Randolph of the Welfare Association says: "These questions pertaining to liquor have no meaning in Kansas. It has been forty years since we had any experience with liquor sold in saloons or joints or speak-easies. We are so far removed from the saloon that no native Kansan now living has a memory of its evils, except a child's memory that does not seem real.

"Prohibition has been a force in Kansas so long that the Eighteenth Amendment made very little difference to most of us. There are people in Emporia with grown children who never saw a drunken man. This did not come about all at once. When Kansas first had prohibition, eminent and respectable citizens did just as they are doing now where it is being initiated. While not always convicted, there was a loss of prestige they could not afford and the violator of the prohibitory law came to be classed with other lawbreakers. We have no families under our charge because of the father's drinking. We have several families to help because the father

tried to get rich quick bucking the law by selling liquor. Their children are learning that this doesn't pay, just as more influential men and their children learned they could not sell liquor in a bar back in a drug store."

That public opinion in Kansas has been so solidly back of the law which the state kept on the statute books for thirty-eight years before the federal amendment was passed is unquestionably due to that group of able editors who control the newspapers of the state. William Allen White of the *Emporia Gazette,* to whom I wrote for information, replies: "One of the major troubles with prohibition is that people have such short memories; they forget the saloon. The young people particularly have no ugly memories of the thing, and would welcome it back in the spirit of adventure with which youth always regrets the passing of the dragon. The people who were devoured by the dragon have no such illusions. The Pontius Pilate cry, 'What is truth?' is the only language in which to reply to the prohibition tangle. Out here the truth is one thing. Doubtless the truth is something quite different elsewhere."

While Wichita, Topeka, and Emporia exemplify, so far as cities may, the feelings of rural Kansas on prohibition, Omaha is very far from expressing the feelings of Nebraska. That long even slant of land from the Missouri river bottoms up to the mountains, where 100,000 American-born farmers are raising wheat, corn, and cattle, went dry in 1914. Omaha is blatantly and persistently wet. But then it is to be remembered that Omaha has not only a large foreign-born population, used to drinking alcohol for generations, but also that it is distinctly a service city—a sort of commissary department for the state. It packs and cans the cattle and

hogs; it sells the corn and the wheat. More than most cities in the Great Valley it lives for its job.

Miss Helen Gauss of the Omaha Social Settlement, says: "Omaha has little to contribute to this study. The state went dry in 1914, but bootlegging had already long been practised. In pre-prohibition days, after hours and Sunday selling in many saloons (contrary to law) amounted to more than that of the entire rest of the week."

Of the total arrests on the south side of the city, the percentage for drunkenness is a continually rising one, from less than 25 per cent in 1916 to nearly 33 per cent in 1925, with only a slight drop in 1918 and 1919 when the amendment first went into effect. The Settlement is in the packing-house district, composed of twenty-five different nationalities; many of the foreign-born have never accepted prohibition and home brew is a matter of course. And yet, the high-school principal says that drinking is not observable among the students; while the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court says that, though there is probably some improvement, the young people are drinking, with automobiles an added evil. The Associated Charities states: "Unemployment and non-enforcement are together increasing the case-load. The fact that so many prosper through bootlegging is attracting small wage-earners to the business. Drinking is common among the younger generation."

Business opinion in Omaha is divided. "Bankers recognize increased prosperity; ascribe it partly to general higher level of wages, to general prosperity, to war and post-war influences, and partly to prohibition. Packing plants see improvement in their labor, smaller turnover, and steadier labor. No women with babies in arms come

in on pay days to rescue the pay check. Drinking continues, but without the evils of 'meeting and treating' in saloons. The working classes have gained where others haven't."

And then comes the same sinister statement that has met me in every large center except in the cities of the American Belt: "The foreign-born are encouraged in the manufacture of bootleg by the patronage of the American-born. And sentiment is against the injustice of enforcing the law upon the poor and not upon the rich."

Miss Gauss sums up the situation: "My strong feeling on the subject, however, is that with things here in Omaha no worse than they are now,—that in itself is an argument for prohibition."

CHAPTER XII

THE GREAT VALLEY

Rivers have a way of flowing through the thoughts of man and seeping into his affections. Rivers have set at naught taboos and laws, have deposited upon remote populations the customs and manners of other far-away peoples.

Today, the Mississippi River has become America's great blue waterway, connecting winter wheat and summer cotton, winter-seasoned lumber and tropical fruits; bringing to vast populations on the innumerable tributaries the necessities and luxuries of American life. Before the enactment of national prohibition, down the Mississippi went ale and beer and stout, rye and corn whisky from the northern grains. Upstream came French liqueurs, brandies, and rum, dry and sweet wines, Malaga and port.

Has the river anything to do today with prohibition and its enforcement? Social workers say, much. It makes bootlegging easier and enforcement difficult.

On either bank of the Mississippi, watered by innumerable streams and tributaries, stretch the richest farmlands in the world. The nations of the earth feed from this granary. Prosperity is an intimate member of almost every home. The population of the upstream valley, with the exception of an insignificant few, is

mainly of native American stock, religious and of prohibition sentiment.

Missouri, with a thousand miles of navigable waters, partakes of the character both of the North and of the South. A small percentage of its people are colored and 7 per cent of the population are of German origin. These settled for the most part in St. Louis, where many of them engaged in brewing. Missouri by 1914 had seventy-four counties dry by local option, most of them farther upstream than St. Louis. These seventy-four counties were almost solidly native-American stock. St. Louis, with its German vote and sentiment, its brewing interests, remained wet and returned majorities against state prohibition.

There were soft lights and magazines in the lounge of the Settlement, and in the interval between dinner and train time I settled comfortably against a cushion.

"I was very much interested in what you said at dinner about prohibition," the thin edge of a gentle voice pricked through the silence and began to swell in volume. "I wonder if it's as bad anywhere as it is here. Why, the other day, a friend of mine asked a policeman where he could get a drink ——. Can you imagine what the man said? He told him that the coal dealer's in the next block was the only place in St. Louis where he can't get a drink!"

From the Neighborhood Association of St. Louis come reminiscences. Two old residents of the settlement district, one a social worker and the other a police officer, recall the days of the saloon . . . "one on every corner." They remember the saloon as a disturber of domestic peace and the time when men high in office in the state, even as high as a state senator, ran saloons.

"With the advent of prohibition a marked change was evident. The district around Neighborhood House, a working-class neighborhood, became comparatively prosperous, almost suddenly. Before the advent of prohibition, the police were called upon almost daily for relief of families in distress. Now there is hardly one such call in a month."

"There are still a good many soft-drink parlors, in most of which alcoholic drinks are dispensed, but this is done on rather a small scale," according to the report from L. C. Harnish of the Neighborhood Association. "Soft-drink parlors for the most part have ceased to become money-makers and change hands very frequently. These places have ceased to be political centers, and while some of the old liquor men still have political influence, the situation is rapidly changing. An alderman recently remarked that 'if a man wants to maintain his political leadership in this district, he must get out and hustle. He no longer has a cinch.'" Mr. Harnish goes on to say, "While there is still a good deal of illicit manufacture of liquor, I think there is not so much as it sounds like. A good many foreign families make and drink wine and home brew, but there is little evidence of drinking among the young people of this particular district."

The river? Even before national prohibition "bootleg" was smuggled from St. Louis on the river boats into dry districts, up and down the Mississippi, into dry Iowa; up and down the Missouri, into dry Kansas.

All-American is the state college town of Columbia, Missouri, where from 5,000 to 6,000 of the 18,000 population are in college or training schools. It has one large shoe factory and a Bible school. This little all-American

town went dry by local option in 1908, in one of the semi-religious temperance waves that swept the country and particularly the Mississippi Valley. "So the Eighteenth Amendment with its subsequent enforcement laws only came to our assistance in making things better," writes the committee of the Public Welfare Society.

"At a public meeting for the purpose of getting data for the questionnaire, contractors, merchants, and other employers stated that they knew personally many families whose living conditions had improved very much since prohibition. Three representative colored people in our community, who are well acquainted with the conditions of their race, stated that their people were in much better circumstances, were more dependable, many more owned their homes, and that their conditions were generally improved."

Yet—even this American Arcady reports a resident bootlegger or two, and "offenders frequently brought to trial and many punished."

Also, this little American town has some poverty, the poverty of unemployment, of inefficiency, of illness, of death, and of laziness. "It is reported that there is some drinking among townspeople and students, but when the majority of these cases are investigated there is nothing to verify the statements." However, there is no evidence that bootleggers are prosperous in Columbia, the All-American Missouri town.

What has the river to do with prohibition?

Iowa, with 89.8 per cent of native Americans, went dry by statutory law in 1855. With the tide of German migration in the late 'fifties, Iowa amended her law to permit the manufacture of beer and wines. In 1884 she became wholly dry once more. Prohibition missionaries

had traveled up and down the river. Bootleg, then as now, flowed up and down the river.

"Keokuk, while an Iowa city, because of its peculiar situation, found enforcement of prohibition a difficult problem. Even as far back as in the 'eighties, although Iowa was dry, the law was difficult to enforce in the river cities," writes Miss Schlotter of Friendly House Community Center.

Keokuk lies at the junction of the Des Moines and Mississippi Rivers. Across the Mississippi River was wet Illinois; across the Des Moines River was a wet spot in Missouri where liquor could be bought without even paying bridge toll. Of the 15,000 population, one-tenth are Negroes and the native whites are largely descendants of northern Europeans, with Irish and German predominating. With this population and with the river as purveyor, Keokuk had, even in pre-Volstead days, a "liquor problem." And it still has.

"Since 1921," Miss Schlotter continues, "there has been a definite increase in the manufacture and sale of alcohol in our neighborhood. The bootleggers are increasingly prosperous. Mr. T. has three children and was in very moderate circumstances. A few years ago he became a bootlegger and now his family is very prosperous. The children are receiving splendid educations and the family has many luxuries unknown to them a few years ago."

And in contrast, or rather paralleling this story, is that of Mr. S., who was at one time a bartender: "He wandered from place to place with little regard for the well-being of his family. At last in a wagon he left for the country, secured a small farm, and became a pros-

perous farmer. Access to the town was difficult and prohibition was enforced in his district."

One of the dry agents said, after a sortie on one of Keokuk's oases, he found everything from a few bottles to a brewery.

"There seems to be a general tendency for nonobservance of all laws; not only of the prohibition law, but practically every other as well," says Miss Schlotter. "To be able to get by with the breaking of a law seems to be the proper attitude. Minors are drinking to a great extent, not only among the uneducated, but among all groups of young people throughout the city. Many young women of the neighborhood make beer and wine in their own homes and feel that it is the proper thing to do."

The chief of police, however, says that "the regular Monday morning charges are decidedly fewer than in the years before prohibition." And the judge of the Superior Court says that "fewer children are removed from parental custody because of drunkenness of the parents. Misdemeanors on the part of the children are more frequently the reason for the removal of a child from his home than the neglect by parents."

Since prohibition, there has been an increased growth in men's lodges, such as the Elks, the Eagles, the Woodmen, and the Y. M. C. A. Keokuk, like other places, responded to higher wages and steady work and to the fact that less money was spent in the saloons, by an increase of luxuries, necessities, and amusements. But in thinking of Keokuk and prohibition enforcement one must always remember the river which makes bootlegging easy and tempting.

The river?

Des Moines in dry Iowa is on the Des Moines River, a tributary of the Great Mother river. Miss Flora Dunlap, who lived in the Roadside Settlement, a section known as "the Bottoms," writes of the old days of the saloon and the present:

"The Bottoms in 1905 was a district of small houses, each set in its own dooryard, more like a village or mining camp than a city tenement section. The people about us were nearly all from northern Europe, or native-born Americans, with a sprinkling of Negroes, and more recent Lithuanian immigrants. It was on the whole a dismal and impoverished community. Drunken men were the commonest sight in the street, as were disconsolate, haggard-looking women and dirty, ragged, undernourished children.

"Iowa had, as far back as 1905 and earlier, many restrictions on the operation of saloons. Drinks must be taken standing. It seemed to me a sad way to take drinks, and as I passed saloon doors, in the late afternoons, and saw below the half screen the line of feet, my own ached in sympathy for men condemned to such tiring festivity.

"Our section of the town was served by one trolley line, and two noisy, dingy old cars made half-hour trips between the downtown section and the Bottoms. No woman who knew the Bottoms, nor any sober man, took the car that left the downtown station as the saloons were closing. They waited for half an hour because that car, especially on Saturday nights, was filled with a drunken crew, sick, cursing, refusing to pay their fares, threatening the conductor.

"As the Roadside corner was a popular one for unloading on Saturday nights, we always locked the front

door and surveyed from a window the arrival of the 'drunk car.'

"Sunday morning was a gray morning in the neighborhood. Perhaps the northern and native born take liquor more sadly than the southern Europeans.

"Roadside provided the first public baths in Des Moines. We occasionally found drunken men fully dressed in a bathtub. We always expected, and sometimes hoped, to find a really drowned one. But they were always heard and dragged out. The police patrol was a frequent caller for neighborhood husbands. Fortunately, or unfortunately, the complaining wives nearly always forgave them.

"In June, 1916, there was a state referendum on full suffrage for women. I went to the polls early to vote on a bond issue. Although Iowa was at that time legally dry, most of the election board seemed slightly tipsy. One member was so drunk he fell headlong, and as I passed out of the booth he uttered denunciations of women who wished to move out of their divinely appointed 'spere.' After 1920 I served in the same precinct in every election for three years and there was never in that time any man who was in the slightest degree under the influence of liquor, so quickly did the old order pass. Its passing may be credited to woman suffrage, or to prohibition, or to both. Prohibition came into effect in Iowa by state legislative enactment in 1916. Liquor was still accessible and, even after the saloons closed, men were able to secure it.

"With the passing of the saloon in the Bottoms, families that had no furniture began to collect a few pieces; bedsteads and mattresses were seen where there had been but heaps of rags in corners. Children who had

stayed away from school because they lacked suitable clothing became more regular in attendance. More shoes were seen that appeared to have been bought for the feet that wore them. Women appeared in new dresses. Men who had never been seen publicly with their wives and children escorted them occasionally to Roadside parties.

"Since 1918 there have been periods when our neighborhood seemed very dry and when it seemed very wet. My successor at Roadside told me that this year was a period of unusual activity in both drinking and selling liquor, and that in the past two years there have been alternating periods of comparative wetness and comparative dryness.

"In August of this year I sat in a friend's house and asked her opinion of the liquor situation. She had lived in the Bottoms almost as long as I had. She said, 'Every house in the next block, on this side of the street, is making or selling liquor.' I asked her how she knew this and she said chiefly by the number of expensive automobiles which stop in front of the houses and the well-dressed men who go in and out. I asked if she thought the situation as bad as before prohibition, and she said, 'Yes,' and then she hesitated and added: 'Well, I'm not sure. There are not so many drunken men on the streets and there are no children carrying pails home.' They all said that most of the liquor is bought by outsiders.

"I asked a group of half a dozen women, members of a settlement club, what they thought of the liquor situation in the Bottoms. They agreed it was terrible and one added, 'There are some women drinking, too, and some selling.' I asked them if it seemed as bad as in the

saloon days, and they agreed that the present situation is not comparable with that period.

"We talked about unemployment, which is very general in Des Moines now. Was that caused by prohibition? They thought drink had very little to do with unemployment. The agricultural depression of the whole state reacts everywhere in Iowa. I asked them if women were not better off since prohibition. One answer was enlightening: 'Women aren't so helpless now as they used to be. Girls can do more kinds of work, and even middle-aged women can find jobs where the work is not so hard and where they make good money.' The thought was that women, now, would not tolerate the old order of poverty and abuse.

"Summing up our conversation, the impression seemed to be general that most of the drinking in Des Moines is in the well-to-do sections of the city. Drinking among the young men and women in our neighborhood is not general. The well-to-do can keep both a flask and a car; in our neighborhood we must choose, and generally we choose a Ford.

"Early one Sunday morning last summer I drove the length of —— Street. In more than half the dooryards there was a man or a group of men, sometimes a woman or two, almost always a child or several children, all interested in an automobile. Most of the houses are painted now and well kept and the children and grown-ups who come out of them look well fed and comfortably dressed. I recalled the appearance of those same houses twenty years ago and I felt that, after all, using a high proportion of the family budget for a car is infinitely better than using the same proportion for strong drink.

Standards of living have so changed that it is difficult to compare the Bottoms of twenty years ago and of today.

"Yes, there are illegal drinking and selling in the Bottoms as there are in so many communities, especially on rivers. But drunkenness in the Bottoms twenty years ago and drunkenness there today are as smallpox was before and since men learned vaccination."

And so on up the river to the Nordic races, where sentiment is for enforcement in spite of old habits, and rural districts are increasingly dry, we come to La Crosse, Wisconsin. Here is a story of earnest effort at enforcement, yet even here is bootlegging a little, and even here youth revolts at control.

"Poverty in La Crosse is dependent more upon the industrial situation than upon the use of alcohol," says Mrs. S. B. Bruce, general secretary of the Social Service Society. "I know that moonshine is being made in many families and I believe its effect on the children is the teaching of lawbreaking in the homes. Our boys and girls drink, the liquor being provided from bottles carried by the boys in their hip pockets. I do not suppose there is a public dance held in La Crosse in which liquor is not dispensed in this way. It is also carried by the men in automobiles going to and from parties and taking joy rides."

On up the river, and inland a few miles. Chippewa Falls is a lumber town on the Chippewa River, famous for its logging operations and the location of a large Weyerhauser Mill. In the spring, when the lumberjacks came off the "drive," the saloons attracted them and there was the amount of drunkenness incident to lumber towns in those days.

"For the first five years of the work of our association

until 1918, we found drunkenness heading the list of the immediate causes of dependency," writes Mrs. I. D. Wiltrout, general secretary of the Associated Charities. "The effect upon our children was shown mentally and physically. Frequently an effort was made to enforce the black list which forbade the selling of liquor to known drunkards.

"After the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment one of our clients stopped drinking voluntarily, saying if his government was going to go so far to help him, he'd never drink another drop. He went insane, but recovered in an asylum. His family no longer live in poverty; they are happy and an asset to the community.

"Mothers frequently told us of their joy because their husbands no longer drank. One woman said, 'Christmas was the happiest day I've had for seventeen years, as my husband was sober for the first Christmas in that time.' I believe the increased prosperity among the people with whom I come in contact is due not to high wages and steady employment, but to less money spent on drink.

"The gasoline filling stations have taken the locations of the old saloons, and movies have become the recreation centers for the whole family.

"Yes, there is bootlegging and illicit manufacture in our town, but it does not materially affect our clients. Those who drink moonshine usually make it, and when arrested have the money to pay their fines. The worst ravages are on the young people and in dance halls. The lack of enforcement certainly has a marked influence upon the regard children have for obedience. There has been an increase in juvenile delinquency. However, prohibition has contributed largely to social work along many lines in Chippewa Falls."

Halfway across Wisconsin, between wet, urbane Milwaukee and dry, rural Iowa is the university town of Madison. According to the 1920 census, the University of Wisconsin matriculated 10,155 students in that year. College life and college students give the town its character. But there is another section of Madison besides the campus where a group of young people—immigrants—are learning lessons in Americanism. This new community is composed chiefly of Italians and Jews, with a smaller number of Negroes. They bring to Wisconsin, to Madison, new race strains, another culture into this older community of Northern peoples.

"The total Italian population in 1916 was 1,100, of which 35 per cent were under ten years of age, 50 per cent were between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine, and but 5 per cent were forty years or older. A large number of men were single, or their wives were yet in Italy. There were practically no single women," writes a social worker. During the period between 1918 and 1921, "there was a change for the better, but probably this condition can be almost entirely accounted for in general civic growth and improvement, and by the price cycle resulting in steady employment and good wages."

As the Italians and Jews had always had wine, even when transplanted into this northern distinctly American community and under an American law, they "continued to use wine and beer as before. Pool rooms, soft-drink parlors, hot-dog stands, in which there is much bootlegging have multiplied.

"There has been a general improvement in the standard of living among the Sicilians in this neighborhood, and poverty is practically exclusively a resultant of other factors than the use of alcohol. There is much bootleg-

ging from this section; there are raids and arrests and convictions. National customs and prejudices, however, remain strong in this group. Our neighbors look upon violations as a natural result of attempting prohibition; they are opposed to the law and favor its abolition or the substitution of light wines and beer. Among the women coming to us there is opposition to bootlegging, but they are doubtful of the prohibition law. The men and boys, on the contrary, have little or no objection to bootlegging and are opposed to the law. There seems to be a growing disregard for the law and an increased laxity in enforcement. The police and the court both state that there is no political protection." The report concludes that as far as the neighborhood is concerned no significant change has occurred since the prohibition enactment.

CHAPTER XIII

SEVEN AGES OF CHICAGO

RETURNING to Chicago is always an adventure for me. It is always a new place not because it changes rapidly, but because it looks so different against different backgrounds. In August I saw it against the background of New York—a wide-spreading sprawl, but with an amazingly close congestion in the district of the Loop, a circle of elevated railroads from which long, slender lines branch off like the tentacles of a jellyfish, feeling about for new subdivisions and improvements.

To the north the Loop almost touches the Chicago River, which, west of the Loop, branches like a Y, dividing the city into three parts, and no common interest, no bridge spans, no bored tunnels have ever been strong enough to hold them together so that the cracks do not show. There is the North Side with its smart line of suburbs strung along the Lake shore. There is the South Side, not so smart, its Lake shore given over to the railroad, its stockyards balancing its parks and playgrounds and university and reaching along down through market garden and still unclaimed swamp to the Indiana line. And there is the West Side, not smart at all, shut in between the arms of the river and still blurring off remotely into the original prairie—poorer, larger, grayer than the North and South sides. The pleasant, simple diversion of early Chicagoans on a Sunday afternoon, to

go out and look at the Lake, is denied the dwellers on the West Side. But if a West Sider is dissatisfied with his neighborhood, he can always try one further west; there is no limit to the possibility of this drift to westward except, perhaps, the Pacific Ocean. Manhattan, held tight between the East River and the Hudson and the Harlem, and with nowhere to go but up, has no idea of the problems of a place like Chicago, without natural geographical limits, or defendable boundary at which an outgoing or incoming liquor truck can be caught.

In August, Chicago was gasping in one of those winds that hurry up from Kansas, faster and faster, for days on days, and drive out the city smell with the scent of ripening fields. Neither the clothes of convention nor the laws of control can stand against a wind like that. Chicago was in its shirt sleeves and seemed freer, more careless, and much more lawless than the cities I had just come from. I returned to it again in October, making my slow way up the Great Valley from easy-going New Orleans, through gentle-voiced Memphis and soft-spoken Nashville and tentative St. Louis, and found it against this different background to be intense, definite, and bent on doing something about something right away.

A cold rain was driving horizontally through its streets as I stood before the group of social workers assembled at Hull House to discuss the prohibition situation. They gave the impression of such a vast amount still to be done. Their Chicago was struggling with the problems of a great cosmopolitan family; she was more like the old woman who lived in a shoe than that gay young thing with the high-held chest and "I will" blazoned upon it.

The intricacy of Chicago's problem depends on her

big cosmopolitan family. In 1920 nearly 7 per cent of the foreign born in the United States were in the city of Chicago. There were over three-quarters of a million of them. The largest eight groups range from 138,000 Poles down through Germans, Russians, Italians, Irish, Austrians, English to the 26,000 Hungarians, and on through a horde of other races in lesser numbers. These people come, all of them, from countries where alcohol is taken for granted and at least a half million of them from races that were known as heavy drinkers. There are also 112,000 colored people, many of them newly arrived from the South and presenting separate race habits. So about half of Chicago's population does not come within the group which put the Eighteenth Amendment over.

Industrially, what is Chicago's problem? What inducements has she offered to this vast army of the foreign born? Where do they get their living? Packing plants, steel mills, grain and lumber, machine plants and mail-order houses. The city is second only to New York in the value of her manufacture; and more than half of her population, young and old alike, as wage earners. Skilled or unskilled, the people of Chicago work. It has appeared from this study that people in certain occupations, like the packing plants as they were seen in Omaha, and the steel mills as we found them in Pittsburgh, and factories everywhere with long monotonous shifts, at speeded-up machinery, are more likely to drink than people in clerical occupations or mercantile establishments. It is also apparent that the well-to-do, living slightly apart from their work, feel that the amendment does not apply to them and, being well able to afford alcohol, they drink it. Chicago has both these drinking

types in large measure, and that group of social workers I saw in October is neighbor to them all.

Two decades back, people outside of Chicago thought of it as the place where the stockyards were, and spoke as though cattle ran wild in the street. It was merely the smoke of the stockyards and the smell from the rendering plants that spread down upon the people, surrounding them in what was sometimes a visible pall.

The University of Chicago Settlement report says: "The stockyards community is made up almost entirely of foreign born and children of foreign born. The predominating nationalities are Polish and Slavish, with German and Irish represented in the remote parts of the community. There is also a very small proportion of Italians and a recent influx of Mexicans."

The opinion of more than twenty-five residents of this community is summarized in this description of what the neighborhood was like before prohibition. At "Whisky Point" there were five saloons at the intersecting point of three streets. A few blocks north there was one block and a half of nothing but saloons, this section appropriately called "Whisky Row." As one of the early residents expressed it, "the open saloons were to the working man as candy and ice cream were to the child. It was the young man's customary Sunday afternoon program to visit half a dozen saloons with his chums and treating was expected at each stop. Monday morning and days following pay days were outstanding for the large number of absentees from work in the yards. Regularly on Saturdays and Sundays the settlement had drunken men with bloody faces and sometimes bloody noses from fights applying for aid. On Saturday night,

the Poles used to go up the alley shooting in the air like Kentucky mountain people.

"It is the unanimous opinion of all these long-time residents that a greater amount of poverty did exist in those early days than we now have."

The neighborhood surrounding the stockyards is old for Chicago, but the newer districts had no special advantage over them in prohibition days.

"A scant sixty years ago the lower West Side, in which Gad's Hill Center is located, was prairie and swamp land. The early settlers of the district were Irish and German; they came after the famine of Ireland and the German Revolution of 1848 and 1850. For the most part they bought small holdings of land for truck farms or found work in the brickyards and lime quarries. The saloon, with its German or Irish keeper, was the meeting place after working hours and provided a back room for dances, weddings, and the like.

"A little later Bohemians moved into the east end of the district and the 'Cesky Hostinek' was to them the interpreter of the laws of the land and a dispenser of rough justice.

"The district has changed from that of truck farms and one or two industries, and now within one and one-quarter miles there are more than two hundred industries and thirty to thirty-five thousand people, of sixteen nationalities, the German and Russian Pole predominating.

"In 1914 there was much unemployment, much poverty, and a great deal of drunken disorder. Men, worn out hunting jobs, hungry and cold, sought the saloon for its warmth, sympathetic companionship, and chance of getting occasional free drinks. In those days many women protested the selling of liquor to their husbands,

and in some instances they were upheld by the saloon keeper, but more often not.

"If there was, in those trying times, an element of sociability and comfort offered to the men by the saloon, it did not reach the family or benefit it. Saturday nights and Sundays were quarrelsome and disorderly times. The patrol wagon was in constant demand and the Monday-morning crowd was made up in the police court of men waiting to be tried for disorderly conduct, and their frantic wives not knowing whether to plead for a heavy sentence or to 'give him annoder chanct, please, Judge!'

"The dance halls ran wide open, with liquor served to those on the floor regardless of age. The people snatched at any form of amusement where there was gayety which promised some relief from the poverty and endless quarrels at home."

Another settlement in a quarter with an increasingly Polish neighborhood writes of this pre-prohibition time: "Children frequently were sent to the settlement for help or to call the police when the family was terrified by the drunken father. The day book recording family and neighborhood cases during 1917 and 1918 and 1919 contains cases such as this with considerable frequency; 'Man drunk all the time, four little children in family.' 'Two women reported drunk and abusing children.' 'A neighbor of ours is drunk and has knocked his wife senseless.' 'The man next door is drunk and has chased his wife out.' 'My husband drinks all the time and never supports family.' These were common emergencies and residents had always to be in readiness to meet them.

"Just before the saloon license was raised from $500 to $1,000 there were more than 400 saloons in our neigh-

borhood—a mile square. This meant one to every 11 voters at that time."

When the amendment swept down upon Chicago the city bowed before it. From one settlement comes the report that "the Italians were bewildered and could not understand why wine should be prohibited. They all make it in large quantities and continually quote that two hundred gallons per family are permitted. The Greeks also made great quantities of wine. The Italians did not markedly change their habits, although the drinking became more surreptitious. They have always drunk sitting in small groups, with much talking and often petty gambling.

"There was a great change in the standard of living; many people moved into better neighborhoods. How much this was due to prohibition or to war-time wages it is impossible to state. Certainly the 'general happiness' of the mothers of families was enormously increased. Certainly the family received more nearly the full envelope of wages, which had been impossible under the treating system. Certainly there was much less petty crime and so-called disorderly conduct. A large section of the city House of Correction was closed, as was the so-called 'tremens ward' at the county hospital. The local drink-cure establishment closed for lack of patients. The neighborhood registered a general lack of street disorders and also of family quarrels which had so often put a mother and little children in the streets. A great change came also in the number of the women of the streets and disorderly houses, but partly due to the closing of the 'red-light district' in the city. On the other hand, it would have been enormously difficult to do this

without the prohibition of liquor, upon the sale and use of which their business so largely depended.

"There is no doubt that various drug substitutes were tried by the habitual drinker in the early days of prohibition. He often came to the settlement in a piteous state, sometimes appearing drugged when he was suffering from the lack of alcohol."

Another settlement reports "in the first few years of prohibition it was not so easy to find liquor to drink, and it cost more money, since it was not being made in quantity, and I am sure less money was spent on drink for a time.

"The tremendous change for better came in our neighborhood, however, through steady work and high wages, but I believe this led to less rather than to increased drinking. For the first time our people had money above the immediate necessities and they at once began to buy cars, clothes, and furniture, as well as to look forward to owning their own homes."

The story of Michael O'Toole shows clearly what the brief period of enforcement meant to one family, and also what happened afterward: "Michael O'Toole's history was stormy because of Mr. O'Toole's intemperance. He was frequently unemployed, as he could never be counted on to get to work Monday morning. His health was undermined and he was diagnosed as in the early stages of tuberculosis. The family usually had lived in small basement rooms, sometimes seven of them in only three rooms. The children were intelligent and had good school records, but suffered from the poor quarters in which they lived, the inadequate food, and the constant quarreling in the family, for Mrs. O'Toole was not inarticulate under her 'cross.' Bridget, the fourteen-year-old,

was sensitive because her father had appeared in front of the school drunk, and other children made fun of her for having such a father. Fifty-one registration agencies indicate some of the attempts that were made to serve the family. But from February, 1918, to December, 1921, a period of almost four years, there were no registrations to indicate that the family were in trouble, and later talks with Mrs. O'Toole confirmed this. In 1923, however, the father began drinking with renewed vigor. He was a sewer digger and said a flask was always passed among the workmen on their tiresome and dreary job. On a call at the house in April, 1923, the social worker found Mr. O'Toole on the verge of delirium tremens. He had crawled under the bed and threw everything within his reach at some imaginary person who was pursuing him. He left the house during the call to get a drink to steady his nerves. After several attempts to get him under medical care, it seemed necessary to arrest him." Mr. O'Toole had apparently no difficulty in finding that drink. Though in the years immediately after the passing of the amendment when enforcement was relatively successful, he had got on without it. Lest the gentle reader should be distressed over the O'Toole family, let me hasten to add that after being "officially safeguarded" for some time, he has now a job as watchman and in the face of decreased temptation is able to keep his seat upon the water wagon.

"The United Charities report that in 1916, 625 out of 7,000 cases showed alcohol as a serious cause of trouble. In 1920, 33 out of 5,000."

The situation in Chicago involved too many divergent race habits and industrial strains not to break out some-

where. What happened is much like what happened in other places.

"Pool rooms and soft-drink parlors began to buy up saloon property. The chartered clubs grew in numbers and in memberships and in their clubs were found almost the first stills in use in this neighborhood. As neighborhood stills grew more and more prevalent, the wisdom of the pool room and soft-drink parlor owners in buying saloon property was seen. Here they could make and serve in secrecy and safety with much the same atmosphere as of old. The finding of stills in the home became more and more frequent and deaths from 'moonshine' a common occurrence and topic of conversation."

This situation seems to have been duplicated all over the city—stills were established here and there and the liquor sold first to the neighborhood and then quite generally. Three things helped to make this possible—it is hard to determine which were the primary and which the secondary causes. The technique of distilling became more and more understood and more and more people were able to produce alcohol; the business of marketing and transporting was developed and organized; it was seen just how much protection the illegal traffic required and just what tax it could bear; the demand was largely increased because the cellars of the well-to-do were largely depleted, and the well-to-do set an example that increased disastrously the lawlessness of a young generation that had rather unusual opportunities for kicking over the traces, anyway.

They knew what the life of the rich was, better than any generation that had gone before; not an advertising campaign, or a movie house, or a newspaper, or a popular magazine that did not paint it for them as to be

envied and almost within their reach. The young have no desire to follow the down-and-out drunken bum. The gutter has no irresistible attraction for them; but to become like the rich hero of the headlines, one of whose characteristics is that he carries a hip flask, is another matter. The reports from Chicago show the coming of this phase very clearly.

"Boys of fifteen and eighteen years of age proudly display flasks and drink heavily in their basement clubrooms. Mothers bewail the fact that since the passing of the saloon it is impossible to protect their girls from being tempted to drink, as the boys carry it with them to the soft-drink parlors or buy it on the premises to mix with soft drinks.

"The young people themselves say that there is more drinking among young people now than formerly, and that liquor is served now more generally at young people's parties in the neighborhood. Under the influence of liquor boys occasionally come to the Settlement Boys' Club. Public places where young people drink are not neighborhood places, but places in the center of town or in the outlying districts.

"No doubt young men especially are eager to demonstrate their superiority to law, and to display what Irving Fisher calls the aristocratic attitude by displaying liquor which they were keen enough to obtain illicitly. They consider this a very sporty thing."

The police of one neighborhood say: "The attitude of the youth of today is caused to a great extent by the publicity and lauding of notorious offenders given by the press. The youth accept them as heroes and attempt to imitate them. The automobile itself has been a large contributing factor in the youth situation. Our neigh-

borhood youth are not 'high-toned' enough to be affected by the practice of carrying hip flasks prevalent in other neighborhoods."

It is the same type of thing that is happening in varying degrees in all the cosmopolitan cities—youth making his grand gesture at what he thinks is the enviable life.

And one of the dangers youth shares with all those who drink illicit liquor is that of getting the "contentious fluid" that frequently results somewhere along the "line of operation" of the amateur distiller. In the first slump after the short relatively good observance of the amendment, this was a very real danger in the unprivileged parts of Chicago. I quote again from the reports, first from what people in the different neighborhoods say:

"Before, my man he just get drunk; now, he crazy from moonshine and kill somebody."

"Men used to take a quarter and buy ten cents' worth beer and fifteen cents' worth whisky. Now they spend more than one dollar and get crazy drunk."

"It was better before. Folks could then get real alcohol. Now it's turpentine or anything else. One man was brought on from the East and was paid $1,500 a week to make the poison."

"Concerning poisonous drinks, the doctor and one druggist whom I interviewed felt very decidedly that the health of the neighborhood was being affected to a lamentable degree by the poisonous drinks now being consumed. They instance the case of one man who seems to be losing his mind through drink, of another who drank occasionally before prohibition, but now is an absolute bum through 'moonshine;' and several cases of Polish families 'going to the bad,' as they said, through

making moonshine and consuming too large a quantity of it."

"Another man's drinking began to take a pathological aspect, for he would buy several bottles at a time, come home and drink himself into a stupor which would last several days. When intoxicated he made shameful exhibitions of himself at home, something that he had never done before prohibition. He said, sadly, 'It is no longer possible to drink and be a gentleman at the same time, and I do not want my boys to continue to look upon me as a lawbreaker.' "

One druggist remarked, "They don't get intoxicated; they get sick," and added that formerly men who had been drinking could come into a drug store and obtain a bracer that would clear them up to a certain degree, but that now a man could only hope that time alone would wear it away, and he had arrived at the point where he had to refuse to try to doctor "drunks" up himself or allow them to enter the drug store, as otherwise they would be around all day, once admitted, and so ill that he could do nothing for them!

Over and over again comes the cry against the contentious fluid, and coupled with it complaints of the official laxness and indifference that make the situation possible.

Hijacking in particular flourished during this stage; not that it is peculiar to Chicago, but that, owing to the fact that the city is threaded with dark alleys as a sort of secondary network of streets, and that practically all roads lead to the open country and safety, there is a pretty good chance to make a get-away. For the benefit of those unused to the vocabulary of crime, here is a social worker's explanation of what hijacking is.

"A hijacker is one who holds up a truck of booze, frightening the driver with his gun until he induces him to desert his load. The driver dares not call upon the police to protect his illicit freight, and when he is obliged to abandon it, can only telephone to his gang and try to intercept the hijacker later and in turn terrify him with guns in order to recover the precious stuff. If the original owner of the 'booze' later calls upon the police at all, he can make a charge only for the stealing of the truck, without daring to mention what was loaded upon it. Of course, the profession of hijacking is highly lucrative. He obtains his booze with all the profit it stands for without even the difficulty and the expense of manufacturing it. He sometimes operates directly upon the manufacturing still and empties the storeroom of its contents. Such places are also easy victims of the regular hold-up men, which accounts for the fact that many of them are equipped like a small arsenal. Of course, the owners of such places which have been robbed are filled with vengeance, and unending warfares are thus started."

But there are signs that in Chicago bootlegging and illicit manufacture, which could not possibly have reached its present stage of organization without protection, are not as unchallenged as they were. The guerilla warfare between rival gangs became a public scandal and there has been a recent shake-up in the police department on account of it. The mayor is out for enforcement and has closed 1,200 soft-drink parlors as well as improved the dance-hall situation. The same reports which show the police corruption show also improved conditions over a worse situation.

There seems to be a general agreement that things are better with the young people. "In the younger people's

groups, the girls are outstanding in favor of the amendment and outspoken in their condemnation of those who are breaking the law about drinking."

"Gee! any girl is a fool to go riding with a guy that has a few drinks packed away with him, or who will go to some road house and drink with him. Whatever happens, she sure has it coming to her for being such a goof!"

"In interviewing young women, those employed in factories and other low-wage industries, it was interesting to note that they were eager to talk upon the subject and their general view of the situation differed from that of their mothers. They do not hold with drinking, but admit that they sometimes drink or go out with drinking men just for the sake of having company. They do not want to marry men who drink, but consistently ask, 'Where are we going to find husbands who don't drink?' They say there is much drinking going on in dance halls, as nearly all the boys carry flasks, but deny that it is necessary to popularity to drink with them, and they believe the boys drink more among themselves than with the opposite sex. They say in the better dance halls the manager does all that he can to stamp out this surreptitious drinking. They believe much of the drinking done by the very young men is a mere gesture of freedom and sophistication, but are puzzled as to what the outcome of it will be for these young men later on, and say it complicates getting married a lot, for none of them wants to marry a man who will continue drinking. They are determined about that."

This attitude on the part of young women is confirmed by report after report.

There is the same agreement as to the effect of prohibi-

tion on industry. "The bank records show an increase in savings-bank deposits since prohibition, but no one can say just what part prohibition played in this. For the country at large, prohibition has done a great good; for this particular community, they tend toward the opinion that beer and light wines might alleviate the home-brewing situation. However, in spite of the present deplorable conditions, they believe that conditions on the whole are an improvement over those of the open saloon days.

"From an industrial point of view, prohibition has been a great factor in stabilizing industry. In one of the largest packing houses, records for several years show that the large number of Monday and after-pay-day absentees of pre-prohibition days was cut 80 per cent for the period of time which these records cover. While the number of such absentees has increased somewhat, no doubt, within the last two years, still it is almost negligible in comparison with the figures of pre-prohibition days. Also, the number of persons dismissed from work on account of drunkenness has been reduced to almost nothing."

"We feel," says Miss Mary McDowell of the University of Chicago Settlement, "that prohibition is here to stay, but at least twenty-five years will be necessary to test its effectiveness in a large industrial cosmopolitan neighborhood such as this."

"The situation in Chicago is a very difficult one," says Jane Addams of Hull House. "However, to give it up now or to modify the Eighteenth Amendment would be to obtain not even a negative result. The general public opinion in the city neighborhood against its enforcement

is of course a large factor. In this aspect its present failure is like the failure of the first attempts in the South after the abolition of slavery. The Southern people did not believe slavery should have been abolished. They did not believe that the United States had the right to legislate about it, and so the slaves were barely free; they lost their votes, they fell into peonage, and all sorts of things happened to them; yet in three generations no one would venture to say that the descendants of slaves are not enormously better off than if the legislation had not been passed."

The situation in Chicago is not by any means static. It is perpetually in process. These are the seven ages of Chicago.

First: that long interglacial age when the inland sea was drying up in the Great Valley and uncovering rich bottoms that were to grow food for the world; defining also the Great Lakes over which this grain and meat could be shipped; and Chicago, a mere north-and-south sandbar under the water.

And then the frontier town at the edge of such prodigal abundance of fish and flesh and fowl as the world had never seen and nothing standing between it and either wealth or attack.

Then the young American city hot after inhabitants and business and experimenting with local option in its residence districts at a time when this was a high-handed thing to do.

Then an acquiescent city entertaining the Eighteenth Amendment as if it were a visiting dove and offering it a swept and garnished nesting place.

Next a city, half foreign, shooing the amendment away

and making and drinking and selling alcohol and joyously flaunting the fact.

Sixth: a city making timid gestures of invitation to that disgruntled amendment in case it still brooded within reach.

The last stage is not yet!

CHAPTER XIV

DETROIT

Detroit looks across a narrow blue river to Canada. A man can scull the river in a few minutes. Ferries ply back and forth all day, all night. Men and women who work in Detroit's mammoth factories and assembling shops may have their homes on the opposite bank.

Canada is wet and Detroit is "dry," and there is only a narrow blue river between them: a supply of liquor on one side of the river, and a demand on the other and only a law—a narrow blue law between.

Once Detroit was an Indian camp. Later it became a French-Canadian village and French city planners thought to grow a city lovely as Paris on the Seine—wide, tree-planted streets, radiating from central circuses; but Detroit decided to become a hobbledehoy American city—just a planless sprawl in every direction, with great factories as hubs, and streets feeding into them. From a lazy river village Detroit grew like Hercules, a giant city of over a million people.

Today a product from Detroit rolls across the steppes of Russia; over the high Himalayas; across the staring Sahara; across sullen iceflows of Finland; into the forbidden cities of Bagdad and Lhasa; into the resentful jungles of the Amazon. Something from Detroit is the ubiquitous, all-conquering Ford—1,500,000 a year. Sometimes more, sometimes less.

The automobile has utterly changed human thinking. It has redefined the words far and near. It has broken up incrusted habits. It has emptied churches, and again it has filled them. It is the servant of all. Librarians and gypsies, magnates and hobos, preachers and wayward youths, movie queens and tramps, families and lone adventurers roll along the highways of America. Isolation is obsolete. The day of the hermit is gone. The hub of the entire automobile world is Detroit, the old Indian village where Indians once hid their swift canoes in the sedges of the river, a river now flanked by mighty wharves.

Throughout this entire survey runs the story of the automobile. It occurs in every report. "Since prohibition, families now buy Fords and go picnicking," write scores of social workers. "Our trouble with the young is not drink, but the automobile," say other scores. "Fords have taken the place of the saloon." "Bootlegging is made possible by the cheap autos," social workers write from north and west and south and east. And "because of the cheap automobile, the road house has risen on every highway." "The road house and the auto have taken the place of the saloon," is well-nigh a chorus from the social agencies. "Delinquency among young girls, crime among young boys, is directly traceable to the cheap automobile. It supplies an easy get-away."

"Juvenile delinquency now expresses itself in stealing autos and automobile parts for which there is great demand." City Fagans are auto thieves. "Bootleggers and hijackers use autos."

Moreover, it is said that the roads of Canada have been built by and for the American tourists in their myriad cars, escaping their own dry country. Certain

it is that since the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment the roads to Canada and Mexico are auto filled, and far resorts are made near by that laugher at distance—the automobile.

But the automobile is not all of Detroit, though most important. Iron from northern smelters makes stoves and machine-shop products, engines, and water wheels, sheet-metal goods, iron and steel forgings. Wood from the northern forests becomes planing-mills products—furniture, paper and wood-pulp—in this industrial finishing shop.

And what does all this mean and what is its bearing on prohibition?

This: A rush to Detroit of over half a million people in ten years, for the most part foreigners, to work in the factories. Negroes pouring up from the South, and Canada just across a narrow blue river.

Detroit had a legacy of beer and wine-drinking habits from its early settlers, the French. More so than in many American cities this custom held. Although the state went dry in 1916 on an initiative vote, the majority of votes against state prohibition came from Detroit. The foreigners who flocked to the city were Rumanians, Serbians, Syrians, Russians, Italians—peoples with drinking habits long established by ancient folklore.

There is no denial by the social workers that today Detroit is comparatively wet, using, say, Topeka, Kansas, as a standard of dryness. Its foreigner, its many rich Americans, the boarder, the city itself, the French traditions about the use of wines, "enforcement officers who, like a large proportion of the citizens themselves,

are not in sympathy with the law"—these make enforcement most difficult.

"Intoxicating liquors can be obtained by anyone who wishes them; drunkenness is common on the streets. In spite of this fact I am convinced, personally, that conditions are not so bad as generally pictured, nor are we in a worse plight than we were before prohibition," writes one of the social workers, adding that what we need "is a fair enforcement over a long period of years."

From Dr. T. K. Gruber, superintendent of Detroit General Hospital, comes the statement, "It is a well-known fact that the so-called hard liquors are just as easily obtained in Detroit as before prohibition. The drinking man changed from a beer and light wine drinking habit to that of drinking more potent varieties. These potent varieties, being impure, improperly made, and green, certainly have a bad effect on the individual. We see an increased number of alcoholics and an increased number of individuals to whom alcohol is more or less of a background. I would say that conditions are very much worse at present than before the days of so-called prohibition. The use of drugs," Dr. Gruber adds, "is decidedly on the decrease."

The war and post-war market conditions brought great prosperity to Detroit, a penetrating prosperity that sought out the humblest worker. Labor shortage, limitation of immigration, a wasted world needing rehabilitation, brought years of steady work and constantly rising wages. It is difficult, therefore, for the social workers in Detroit to ascribe to prohibition alone the up-rush of the common people to the higher levels of comfortable living.

"Our neighborhood of foreigners, factory workers, im-

proved after 1918," writes a former head resident of the Franklin Street Settlement, "owing to steady employment, higher wages, and—the abolishing of saloons."

Sharing in this widespread prosperity are the bootleggers. "A Belgian family in the neighborhood, owning a combination grocery store and blind pig, has grown rich. Although several times raided and fined, they go on selling. They are buying a home in a millionaire residential district and sending their children to an exclusive school."

Detroit's foreigners have done as all foreigners have done, responded as all foreigners have responded.

"Our impression," says Miss Selminski of the Franklin Street Settlement, "is that our neighbors having come for the most part from home-brewing countries, know how to make their own beer and wine. They find a ready demand. The cheap automobile seems to play a part in bootlegging, although not infrequently we see the expensive automobile from some other parts of town parked outside neighborhood blind pigs. Our young people are from homes where beer and wine have always been part of the daily diet. There seems to be no change in the attitude of minors in our district.

"The general belief among our neighbors is that the prohibition law is unworkable and an unwise method for the control of drinking. The young men are indifferent. Women deplore the present condition, especially women in families where men are drinking. Before 1918 it was unusual to find Syrians drinking. Now, in contrast, we find them both drinking and bootlegging, though not to any great extent. Some of our Italian young men are now hardened criminals, having found that bootlegging offers a way of easy money."

Does prohibition work in any way in Detroit? Authorities and social workers disagree. What about family stability?

The records of the Child Caring Department of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul indicate that, "desertions have increased since the introduction of prohibition; the most striking difference is in the increase in the number of mothers who deserted their husbands and children. The percentage in which drunkenness was a major cause is about the same now as before prohibition, but the percentage of cases of drunkenness among women is higher now. Allowing for the increase in population, it is my impression that the number of the children removed from parental custody is both a relative and an absolute increase. In general I am quite convinced that the work of this department has not been lessened by prohibition; and in some ways—*e.g.*, drinking among women and familiarity with drinking among children—prohibition has increased our problem." A worker at the Bureau of Domestic Relations said that, "98 out of every 100 cases in 1926 have their cause in drunkenness on the part of either father or mother." A director of the Children's Aid Society states that in proportion to the increase in population there has been no difference in the number of homes broken up. "Alcohol," she says, "is a result of other conditions rather than a cause."

Does the poorhouse tell a story? According to the statement of a public welfare worker the number of cases of adult attendance sent to Eloise County Home was, in 1914, 1,607; in 1925, 4,137; allowing for the increase in the population of Detroit, this worker said that 25 per cent of the cases sent in 1915 were the result of alcoholism. That 50 to 75 per cent of the cases sent in

1925 showed these results. The public welfare worker says that "before 1918 it was unusual to have men committed before the age of fifty-five years. Records show now frequent commitments of men from twenty-six to fifty years of age. This condition is due to the inferior liquor now available."

Do the banks tell a story of the effect of prohibition?

A manager of a bank in a foreign district says that people are not saving money since prohibition; a large part of their earnings go for liquor. Many of the savings accounts are those of bootleggers.

Information sent from the statistics department of the Board of Health shows a decrease in the death rate for alcoholism—in 1916, 16.6, dropping to 8.0 in 1925.

Figures from the police department show that in 1917 the arrests for drunkenness based on the per thousand population were 26.8. In 1920 this figure fell to 6.6 per thousand of the population and rose again to 13.1 of the number of arrests in 1925.

What, in general, are the opinions of the settlement residents?

Some say that the situation is much worse than in the days of the saloon, although they decidedly should not wish the return of the saloon. If people could have light wine and beer, the liquor problem would disappear, and gradually, as the process of education went on, liquor could be legislated out. Another worker believes in prohibition but not in the present ways of regulation, saying that prohibition "as it now exists is a curse."

Generally it is conceded by the social workers of Detroit that prohibition is much to be desired; that it is difficult to attain but attainable; that education in attitudes toward right living is important; that the

newer education in home making and child training, in vocational guidance, is preparing the coming generation for prohibition, as well as the growing popularity of indoor and outdoor sports.

It is upon education that the social workers of Detroit base their hopes.

CHAPTER XV

THE FINISHING SHOP

Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo are specialized to the work of fabricating raw products to the use of man. They are a little out of that region along the Atlantic coast that has been called the Finishing Shop of America, and yet they belong there because they manufacture many ultimate products—things ready for the consumer. This fact is the basis of their prohibition problem.

If one could walk eastward from Detroit on the sands and gravels of the shore of Lake Erie, pull through the swamps in spots and swim for it in other spots, one would come to a wide, bright, prosperous place—Cleveland. Compared with Chicago, it is clean; compared with Detroit, it is leisurely; compared with New Orleans, it suffers with a continuous insomnia! Lake Erie offers to Cleveland not only beauty and health, but an easy entrance for Canadian liquor. How is prohibition working here?

The Cleveland reports present a mass of contradictions.

"Alcohol is a minor factor of poverty," says a charitable organization.

"Alcohol is the important cause of poverty," replies the neighborhood visitor of a settlement.

"It is doubtful whether there has been any noticeable

improvement in the general happiness and well-being of the people," states a charitable organization.

"There came a change in the general happiness and well-being of the people of our neighborhood," testifies a settlement visitor. "And ours!" says a second. "And ours!" says another.

"We have noted little change in the prevalence of poverty since the early years of prohibition, unless it is in the increase of the number of bootleggers and 'new rich' and the increase in the drinking by the young people," is the report from a settlement.

"If the individual's adjustment to society, especially recreational and economic, were complete and satisfying, alcohol would be no problem at all," so states a trained worker for a charitable organization.

"Stricter enforcement and time for education are the remedy for present conditions," say settlement workers.

"Modification to light wines and beers is our solution," say the women's club of a settlement and the young men of the neighborhood.

And so it goes. Affirmation. Denial. All blessings flowing from prohibition. New evils supplanting the former. Staggering new problems exchanged for the old ones. Subtle and devious problems, more difficult because less obvious.

Part of this disagreement is due to the different race groups with which they have to deal and the different drink customs among them—Cleveland, an industrial city of nearly a million, is only a little more than half native-born whites. Poles, Negroes, Hungarians, Germans, Italians, and Russians are the largest groups.

The explanation is that for the purposes of a study like this, Cleveland is not one city, but at least four

different towns; that it has not one people, but a collection of peoples who are as yet largely unassimilated; and that not only are there these large racial chunks still individual in the social melting pot, but that they do not remain long enough in one neighborhood to give permanent character to it. What has happened around —— is a good example of the situation.

"In our neighborhood, usually, the family was large and the family income, even if every cent were spent wisely in the home, was hardly sufficient to maintain a fair standard of comfort. But instead of the income all going into the upkeep of the home, more or less of it went to the saloon keeper, and the family suffered accordingly. It was the usual thing for the saloon keeper to cash the pay check, and as his reward a liberal amount came back in trade. The 'treating' custom increased this. The resultant poverty in the family was evidenced in poorly clad and poorly fed children, poor living quarters, the necessity for free medical service, unpaid bills (at the grocer's, not at the saloon), help from charitable organizations of all sorts, the necessity for the mother and minor children supplementing the family income and often in eviction of the family."

To understand the reports of the prohibition situation in Cleveland it is necessary to dissect that city, which has nearly a million inhabitants, into an Italian city, a Croatian city, a German city, a negro city, and an American city which is made up of about half the population. Not one report that has come in seems to be typical of the city as a whole.

Considering first the Italians, whose group is not the largest but perhaps the most racially intact, the reports agree that before the amendment "there was, of course,

a good deal of moderate drinking both in homes and in saloons, but mostly of light wines and beer, as is customary in foreign neighborhoods. There were the confirmed drunkards that brought social hardships on their families, but these were not an important factor. In a neighborhood of about thirty saloons before prohibition there is at the present time illicit selling in many more places. Wine was used in great quantities, as was beer. One saloon keeper says that very little whisky was sold. Perhaps a barrel a year. The groups remained in the neighborhood for social affairs, and commercialized drinking from the outside was unknown."

Though the Jews were the first bootleggers in Cleveland, the Italians began very soon to sell the wine which they had formerly made for their own use. This bootlegging, together with the steady employment, has brought prosperity and a higher standard of living to the Italians. "We find much more drinking among our boys than previously. The girls are not affected. Of course the sporting element of the thing is there, but I feel that we have other factors which are vastly more important. I know of no movements among the young people to counteract drinking among minors.

"At first the Italian groups thought prohibition affected only 'whisky' drinkers, which they felt were 'low down' anyway, and went ahead with their wine, many times quite openly. It was a year or more before I heard of any bootlegging by Italians, and the first few arrests were for possession of wine and were considered so unjust that they caused bitterness which led to defiant lawbreaking. One Italian saloon keeper was confident until the last day that they could not, or would

not, put him out of business when he 'run a good place and never nobody get killed here.'"

The Hungarian city is a distinct one, preserving its own drink habits, which seem to include bootlegging. "We have noted little change in prevalence of poverty, child labor, etc., since the early years of prohibition unless it is an increase in number of bootleggers and 'new rich,' and an increase in the drinking by young people. We are inclined to believe that no more of them drink than formerly, but that so much more emphasis is laid on it. Bootleggers are more prosperous than their law-abiding neighbors. Sometimes this causes trouble among neighbors because of airs put on by the 'newly rich.' Jealousy arouses all sorts of suspicions; airs of superiority rankle among those who sooner or later try the same methods of money-making. Then business grows; this leads again to disturbance because of customers being lost or gained. Bootlegger's morals naturally fall; this affects especially their children. Money is plentiful; they have no principles as to how they get it so long as they have it. The well-being of the group may be higher economically but not morally; also, they spend more than they really can make."

Said a Hungarian tradesman: "Now I find where liquor is sold, I can send Tootsie" (his son of twelve) "for it. Before, I had to go myself."

In Cleveland for the first time the reports show a group of Croatians large enough to be especially considered. One of them—a small merchant—says: "Like better wet or dry? Like better wet." Bills are collected just the same now as before 1919 because we only trust people we know. "Now people sell bad whisky, make sick. Before prohibition, when a man was drunk, he

sang, he was happy, not sick after. Now he no happy, he crazy in head and very sick, maybe die after! Now wine and whisky sold in homes. No good for woman to stay and sell liquor to mens all day. They get drunk and say bad things before children and she forget husband and children. Saloons was better; no children could go there and no women. Men who got drunk before prohibition get drunk now, but it costs them more. We want to have wine to drink, but dare not buy it for fear of being raided. Men used to go to a saloon maybe once a week and get a drink. Now go one or two months without a drink. Then meet a friend, go to private home, take one drink, then two, then another because they know it will be long before they can have more, and end by spending their whole pay and then getting very sick."

The Irish, the Jews, the Poles, and the Germans show the same drink habits that they do in other large cities—a report from Cleveland might be from New York or San Francisco. Of the constantly incoming colored population, the same thing seems to be true that is said of New Orleans and Chicago—they are frequently acting as bootleggers, but drink is not one of their race problems.

There is no difference of opinion among the social workers of Cleveland that since 1917 there has been, in general, a golden prosperity that filtered down into dark neighborhoods where poverty, unemployment, inadequate wages, and saloons were common. Testimony is abundant that cheap automobiles, new furniture, recreation, good clothes, good food, education, new houses, fruit and vegetables and milk, radios and pianos, have made their way into homes of former meagerness from the cornucopia of America's prosperity.

And at the same time the saloons were closed by law. To what do the social workers of Cleveland attribute these blessings? To prohibition? Some of them do. Says a worker among the Hungarians: "After the abolition of the saloon, savings were accumulated and houses bought. Wages had been high and employment steady before prohibition without these results."

How about the three questions that have been slowly emerging from this study? What is the effect on youth, on industry, and on the enforcement officials?

"I do not think there has been any large amount of defiant drinking among the young people of our neighborhood. I think there are two reasons for this. First, The Italian young people respect home standards and discipline too much to try it very much, even if they wanted to. They do not inherit a taste for more than wine, which most of them have in their homes even now. I do not know an Italian boy or young man who would not be shocked and disgusted to see a young woman in his company who was drunk, or who would think it 'smart,' of her. Second, The other nationalities are not so much a unit in their opinion on this subject as are the Italians, but do divide into crowds where it 'is done' or where it 'is not done.' Some of the Slavish groups do not feel the disgrace of women drinking, and do not feel the sportiness of it, either, and accept the habit among the men much as a matter of course. Much this same attitude, I imagine, is true of the colored, although the better class of them look down on a drinking woman and feel that she is beyond hope."

A member of a woman's club of the middle working class said: "Young people drink much more now than before prohibition and worse stuff. A Greek sells a mix-

ture of Jamaica ginger and pop that intoxicates and makes them terribly ill.

"The present situation affects the youth of our neighborhood very little; they drink now just as they always did; there is a feeling among them that to defy the law is daring and sporting, and therefore, it is more talked about. This, perhaps, was a logical sequence and is not disturbing us so much as it would if there were no signs of a movement among the young people to counteract it. This movement is slight and just beginning, but is nevertheless strong. For example, in one of our groups of young men who used to expect drunkenness among members, there is a rule that whoever drinks any place, any time, is automatically dropped from membership; clubs whose dances outside the settlement were more or less drunken brawls, now prohibit any guest who has been drinking. They sell 'pop' instead of serving punch and are thus enabled to keep out the hip flask.

"Young girls are drinking more than they used to. They used to go to parties at about eight o'clock in the evening; now they wait until about twelve, and in the conversation overheard among them the talk is not of the good times they have or expect to have at a party, but whether or not there will be drinks. Formerly men of twenty-one could buy liquor, and this law was very strictly enforced throughout the neighborhood. Now boys of any age can get liquor and much younger boys are drinking."

If the young in Cleveland are drinking it is not to the point of insanity, anyway. Dr. G. H. Williams, superintendent of Cleveland State Hospital for the insane, says that the percentage of patients admitted because of alcoholic and drug psychoses dropped from 21 per cent

in 1913 to 1.9 per cent in 1921. And as regards youth, he says, "We do not find that in 1913 and 1914 there were any admitted under twenty years of age, and the same applies to the year 1924. In 1925 there was but one case, but we do not believe that this has any special connection with the question you are investigating."

Youth is youth in Cleveland as everywhere. It is restless, inquiring, experimenting with life. All social agencies say that youth is drinking, some say more, some say less. However, the workers of one settlement report that "the better group of young boys and girls in this neighborhood are imbibing from American people and from the schools a realization of the harm that liquor does, and we feel, from conversation with them, that they are not acquiring the habits of drinking that the older people have and that this new generation will have entirely different standards."

A probation officer states that drinking and smoking are now customary among young girls, are openly a part of the so-called good times. Bastardy cases are increasing rapidly. In seven out of every ten such cases there has been a drinking party.

"Drinking is daring and sporting, but there are signs of a movement among the young people themselves to counteract this tendency."

So far as industry is concerned, there is a general agreement among employers. From a Hungarian neighborhood, the employers "tell us that labor turnover has markedly decreased, men are more prosperous, keener and more alert mentally, and stronger physically since prohibition. Where it was formerly impossible to select only men who did not drink, it is now quite possible to adhere strictly to this rule. "They say that should

prohibition go, they will never again do away with that rule. It is interesting to note that the concerns employing only rough 'foreign' labor feel that among this element conditions are worse than before prohibition. One employment manager stated that in this latter class labor turnover and minor accidents on Mondays had increased, more medical care was required and more money spent on liquor. The people have more liquor in their homes, thus making excess easy. Homemade liquor is more deadly, the 'real thing' more costly, and the older people who have grown up as drinkers either become abstainers or pay seventy-five cents a glass. He added that from this condition improvement takes place as a workingman leaves the class of 'rough labor' and moves into the skilled group, and on to the naturalized and adjusted new American. His analysis was verified by other employers and industrial physicians. Those who do not employ the so-called 'rough foreign labor' had only good reports."

Industrial physicians report a decrease in accidents, especially those caused by intoxication. One local physician stated that he had fewer cases of delirium tremens, but more of gastric disorders and more of alcoholic poisoning, this latter especially among those from forty to fifty years of age. The older and wiser either abstain or drink only "good stuff."

Accident admissions to the Lakeside Hospital, which were diagnosed as alcoholic, decreased steadily from 47 in 1921 to 17 in 1925.

The account of official corruption is the same that other cities are wrestling with—almost the same methods, almost the same words, almost the same protest at the rich being free from raids and the poor subject to them.

"Men read their papers home and women have it nice now," says a thoughtful workingman living in a settlement neighborhood.

Two of the settlement houses in Cleveland are sure that prohibition can work out. Two question its advisability, and one is definitely against it. There are certain things, however, on which they agree. One is that prohibition is not enforced and that the law has brought about a disregard for law and order. The other is, that the saloon is actually abolished and that they do not want it back.

Out from the bright, bustling prosperity of Cleveland, across rich farm lands, and then the train panting up into the Appalachians and rushing over a floor of billowing green-spread earth —— in under a low roof of billowing purple smoke, the green fading out and the dark roof settling lower. Men here are not gathering gentle fruits of the earth new grown in the sun. They are rifling treasure laid deep in the ground millions of years back. The old coal measures and the older iron ores are waiting together to make steel. We have come to Pittsburgh.

All night long pulses a rhythm of fire and blackness. All day a veil of smoke hangs on the hills. Thousands and thousands of men, day in, day out, tend the furnaces where steel is made: girders for skyscrapers; rails for railways; ships for the commerce of peace and for war; steel for the construction of empires and the destruction of their armies. The fires on the Roman altars were not so sacredly guarded as the fires of the Bessemer furnaces, for today steel is a great god on whose altars the flames are never quenched. Something more important than a generation of men hisses white-hot from the furnaces; the raw, malleable stuff of civilization itself.

Puny men cannot make steel. From the earliest days of steel-making the industry has drawn the brawniest men Europe could send us. Their long day ended in fatigue. Their working years were over at fifty. Thousands of them were single men taken from peasant fields.

In a steel town it takes a superwoman to make a home in the American sense of the word where dirt and ugliness and low wages as well as the saloon are pitted against her.

What happened after the saloons closed?

At first a good deal. The report from Kingsley House says: "Residents in the neighborhood recall that a general increase in prosperity began about this time, due rather to higher wages and to steady employment than because less money was spent on drink. Some of the mothers of the Mothers' Club knew families whose happiness and well-being were increased decidedly because the father brought his wages home instead of stopping at the saloon, but the period was so brief and so long ago that the direct relation of prohibition to the new financial conditions is hazy in the minds of even the doctors and school teachers.

"Employers report a very definite change for the better among their employees, due directly to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. The 'Monday morning' difficulty in the mills was entirely eliminated in some instances. Employers of large numbers of men—themselves against prohibition as it affected them personally—were often heard to say, 'I'm against it for myself, but it's fine for the working classes.'

"During this period the president of one of our largest steel industries stated: 'My observations of the effects of prohibition have been that it is an incalculable eco-

nomic and moral blessing to millions of our people and to the nation as a whole; there is far less drunkenness and waste of time and money. There is greater steadiness among laborers, more saving of money, better care of the homes and children of men who formerly spent freely for drink.'

"Teachers report that truancy in general was greatly diminished after the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. One high-school teacher reports the development of a new type of truancy among high-school boys and girls—due to money and machines—namely, visiting road houses and parks.

"Figures pertaining to Allegheny County as a whole show that the number of nonsupport cases dropped from 1,055 in 1919 to 746 in 1920; the Humane Society figures show the number of cases of reported cruelty to children due to drink fell from 163 in 1919 to 14 in 1920. The Associated Charities records showed a decrease of 37 per cent in desertion and nonsupport cases. The cases in which alcoholism was an outstanding problem decreased from 545 in 1918 to 176 in 1920. The Salvation Army and the Association for the Improvement of the Poor reported a decrease in drinking of about 75 per cent among the men at their industrial homes."

Miss Clara J. McDonnell reported that "in 1921 four drink cures closed their doors since prohibition went into effect; that the alcoholic ward at Mercy Hospital has been closed and the alcoholic department of the House of the Good Shepherd has been discontinued."

Miss Anna B. Heldman of the Irene Kaufman Settlement says: "The short period from 1918 to about 1920 we may refer to as a possible semblance of the prohibition enforcement, or the intermission where the former

owners of saloons and speak-easies stopped long enough to take a breath or long enough to take stock prior to an opening with advanced prices where quality was forgotten and only quantity counted. During this brief apparent enforcement of the law there was no enforcement, nor was there a necessity for it, since families were consuming their private stock that they had purchased for future use.

"There was equally as much liquor consumed during these years as during the preceding years, but it was consumed in the home and not in the saloon. This private family stock ran low in most cellars the latter part of 1920 and early in 1921, and gradually there was an apparent demand for, and a supply of, liquor which was not at all discouraged by those in charge of the law enforcement.

"One woman who was employed at day's work made this statement to a settlement visitor, 'Would you believe it, my husband is a changed man. He is home at nights, he has not been on a real spree for three months and that spree was not his fault. Some of his old saloon friends got a quart, and of course they had to drink it, but you know I haven't worked a day since. Thank God! I hope it continues. You can be sure prohibition made a difference in our home.'

"After several weeks of violation of the Eighteenth Amendment as nothing happened to the select few, others joined, and in the spring of 1921 many old saloons were doing business at the same old stand. Acquaintance with the barkeeper was the password for a good old prewar drink."

That's how it happened in Pittsburgh. They found they could violate the law in relative safety and that

there was money in it. Of the present, the report of Mrs. A. B. Dick, former director of Soho Community House, says: "Through the past summer the steel mills have been running full time and wages seem to justify supporting a family in a haphazard fashion and also buying the 'necessary' drink. Bootleggers' families certainly are more prosperous than they were in pre-prohibition days. They are building new homes and moving out of the neighborhood."

The Irene Kaufman report shows the actual technique of the bootleg industry, its production, transportation, and marketing.

"The bootlegging business is dependent upon the instructor, the carrier and the go-getter. The duty of the professional teacher, who may be a man or a woman, is to instruct all new beginners how to run a still. For this the teacher is paid fifty dollars for two weeks' instruction. If the pupil is unable to run the still at the end of the two weeks, fifty dollars more must be paid for the 'second semester of two weeks.'

"The professional carrier is a woman who wears a long shawl large enough to cover a gallon jug under the arm. These women earn twenty-five cents a quart. If liquor must be transported by street car, it is carried in a suit case in quart bottles. For this service she receives as high as three dollars for the trip.

"The professional go-getter is a man who guarantees customers to all new owners of stills, providing the owner of the still will pay a dollar for each customer the man secures. In turn the still owner must sell at least twenty-five cents a gallon cheaper than the old-established bootlegger. By coöperation, the new manufacturer and go-getter profit by the transaction. However, the sea-

son for the new manufacturer is short-lived if a second still is installed in the neighborhood. This same professional procurer will persuade the now new customer to patronize the now new manufacturer and in turn will receive one dollar per customer. This has led to numerous quarrels among the illicit manufacturers, in fact to family feuds."

From Miss Helen Harris of Kingsley House comes further information on bootleggers: "An amazing development was the calmness with which older boys gave their occupation as 'bootlegging.'

" 'We're trying to build up something at Kingsley House and you are tearing it down,' I told one of them.

" 'You mean the kids comin' here to git taught clean livin' and me settin' 'em a bad example? Honest now, what's so bad about sellin' whisky? Men are getting rich off it and nobody says a word. I'm just doin' it on a small scale. And it's the most excitin' game I ever was in. You ride around nights carryin' your stuff and you never know when they're goin' to git you. It's not the officers, no sir, it's the bootleggers you've got to watch. These little fellers move around in gangs and they're ready to stick a knife in each other any minute. It's a great game and you gotta take a chance.' "

"There are fewer arrests for drunkenness than before prohibition and fewer women soliciting on the streets," says Miss Heldman. "The well-being of the entire group is higher; there are more high-priced automobiles, more long-distance travel in these machines, more high-priced movies, more women have taken up smoking and bridge parties, more money changing hands over the gambling tables.

"It will take at least a generation before we can say

whether prohibition is a success or failure. Of this we are sure, that there is less drink consumed today than there was in 1917. Now loads are brought in; formerly there were whole carloads brought in. If the law were really enforced in the next ten years the country would be as dry as the Sahara Desert."

It does look bad for Pittsburgh, even though there is a general agreement that prosperity is upon the city. All the reports agree as to the basic elements of the situation, but it is left for Mr. Charles C. Cooper of Kingsley House to give the explanation.

"Prohibition enforcement at the present time in the city of Pittsburgh cannot be divorced from politics. Commencing with the primary for the United States Senatorship to the present time, there has been a fierce political battle, with one senatorial investigating committee disclosing the fact of large sums of money used in the primary, and another committee to investigate more directly the election of Mr. Vare.

"While this controversy goes on there will be no well-defined policy, either of law enforcement or law disregard, upon the part of the city officials. In my opinion, the present situation with regard to the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment does not therefore represent the conscience of Pittsburgh."

From Pittsburgh along the leg of the triangle to the third great city of the finishing shop—Buffalo.

While the work of Pittsburgh goes on by virtue of the vast coal supply set ready to its furnaces, the main activities of Buffalo proceed because of the Falls of Niagara. And since the kind and quality of the population attracted to a city depend on the way it can get its living there, and on the kind and quality of people depends

the way law works among them, so the coal of the Alleghenies and the water of Niagara Falls are the controlling factors in the operation of the amendment in Pittsburgh and Buffalo.

Ships from the Great Lakes have to stop at Buffalo if they don't want to go over Niagara Falls. They come to Buffalo loaded with grain and steel, ore and automobile parts, canned meats and vegetables from the Middle West, which must be moved from ship bottoms to railroad cars. Niagara Falls is also the source of a vast supply of hydro-electric power, and, therefore, of manufacturing. Buffalo requires men to load and unload ships and men to run the electrically driven factories. Poland, Germany, Italy, Canada, Ireland, England, Russia, and the Black Belt of the South have sent these men to her. It is they who constitute the Buffalo which the social workers know.

How does prohibition work among them?

The first and most distinctive thing that appears in the report is that the population, drawn by new industrial developments, pushed by racial affiliations, is drifting about with such rapidity and producing such suddenly changed conditions that it is difficult to catch any one group still long enough to study it.

Of the conditions before the passage of the amendment there is pretty general agreement. There were plenty of saloons everywhere. In Irish, Irish-American, and Polish neighborhoods alcohol was a major cause of poverty. In Italian and Jewish neighborhoods it was not. There was no sudden change after the passage of the amendment that could be attributed to prohibition; but there have been many significant changes since, of which it may or may not be the cause. Let me try to pick them

out of the rapid race eddies that swing round and round in the city.

"Some fifteen years ago," writes Dr. McLennan of Welcome Hall, "our neighborhood was predominantly Irish and alcohol was an important cause of poverty, social misery and crime. Then the Irish moved out and the Sicilians and Syrians came in, both reasonably temperate in their drinking. The former used their home-made wines; the latter, while indulging in their stronger arrack, seldom became intoxicated. I cannot recall ever seeing a Syrian the worse for liquor.

"Up to the time of the adoption of the amendment we had at our settlement a long list of mothers who went to work. Many children left school because their families needed help at home, or else whatever earnings they could secure outside. For some time now we have had no list of mothers wanting employment, and the attendance at school is much better than in the old days. I believe that prohibition has had something to do with this changed condition, how much I doubt if anyone knows.

"Between 1918 and 1921 there did not appear to be in our neighborhood any particular change either in general happiness or in the amount of poverty. It was a time when drink was considerably reduced in volume, largely for the reason that the average person did not know how to make or procure the stronger drinks. I am inclined to think that so far as our neighborhood is concerned the improved conditions were due more largely to steady employment and good wages than to prohibition. . . . My impression is that there was a slight reduction in the amount of crime and disorder during this period, and there was nothing to show that the use of drugs had increased.

"The place of the saloon was supplied by the so-called soft-drink place, which is such only in name. Many who frequented the old saloon continued to attend the 'drinkeries,' but the 'drinkery' is not a political center though it is a social meeting place and a place for card playing. . . . I doubt if there is any so-called illicit manufacture of drink, as that term is generally understood, in our neighborhood, but I do believe there is a good deal of wine sold, not by regular bootleggers alone, but by our men and women, who, either to accommodate a neighbor or for the profit involved, will dispose of their home-made wines. I have it on the testimony of a well-informed Italian that there are at least one hundred persons in our neighborhood who, if not strictly speaking bootleggers, do a certain amount of bootlegging business.

"The opinion of all of us at our settlement is that there is not so much crime in our vicinity as before the passage of the amendment.

"Our Italian people, so far as I can discover, have no conviction that they are doing anything morally wrong in making and drinking their native wines. They cannot understand why prohibition was adopted. Generally speaking, they feel that it is an evidence of fanaticism, and while they are obliged in certain ways to conform to the law, they have no special scruples against violating it.

"I do not believe that violators of the law in our neighborhood are politically protected. Doubtless there are individuals who count on some protection from their political party if placed under arrest, but I believe there is a growing feeling that the federal government is not to be trifled with and that political influence does not count."

Mr. Gaetano Frankino, president of a men's club at Welcome Hall, believes that while there are not so many going to drinkeries as to former saloons, there is more drinking in homes, and that the wine made from grapes which come from California is stronger than that from the local vintage.

In one district composed largely of recent Polish immigrants and poor whites, before the amendment, in practically every case of poverty drink was a contributing, if not a main cause. The children were neglected and half fed because the father spent nearly all his earnings in the corner saloon. The mothers took in washing or went out by the day. In the adjacent districts prior to 1919, 75 per cent of the population were Orthodox Russian Jews who did not drink, and the rest were German-Americans who were old residents, Irish-Americans, a few Italians and Negroes. All the cases which the social workers of that time report as being due to alcohol occur in the Irish families. Such changes as occurred after the amendment was passed were partly due to the changing neighborhood. The Negroes, whom great hydro-electric plants had drawn to Buffalo for war-time industries, gradually crowded the Jews out, and their numbers have increased so that the district is now the center of the city's colored section.

"Among the colored families, drink does not appear to be a very great problem," says Miss Graham of the Memorial Chapel Social Center, "though poverty is very common, it appears to be due to other causes than drink —sometimes to gambling, illness, or discrimination against employing colored people."

From the various Buffalo reports it appears that before the amendment alcohol was a factor of greater

importance than today. In relation to the period between 1919 and 1921 there is a distinct discrepancy in the records of Buffalo. There was a marked reduction in the consumption of liquor and in the amount of drunkenness immediately following the enforcement of the amendment. There was, however, a serious period of unemployment in 1921-22 which influenced the city's prosperity, but there was not anything like the amount of drunkenness during those months of unemployment which one sees now on the streets.

The records of the Health Department show the deaths assigned to alcoholic causation to be in 1919, 17; in 1920, 8. In the years following, the reports divide them into chronic and acute causes. In 1921 there were but 13 deaths attributable to alcoholic causation; this number rose gradually year by year until in 1925 there were 71 such deaths.

It is believed, however, that the acute cases are more likely to be reported and cared for immediately now than in the past, and that today many cases are cared for in hospitals or taken before the courts which would never have been noticed in the years preceding 1918.

"The drinkery has taken the place of the saloon," one social worker writes. "We have great numbers of these today and pretty much everything which went on in the saloon is going on in them. In a study made by members of my own staff three years ago it was a most frequent matter to have them send in a report that in visiting a drinkery which we were listing, as they entered the room both liquor and dice would be swept out of sight, and in one or two of the more open cases the men did not even take the trouble to put the things away. There is no doubt in any of our minds that boot-

legging and illicit manufacture of poor liquor exist in many places in Buffalo today. The raids are constant and some of the biggest hauls made by the federal government have been in this city.

"Drinkeries are licensed freely all over the city; on the other hand, I do not believe that we are having a terrific crime wave. A great deal of fuss is being made over the morning court and the papers play up the number of intoxicated individuals on Sunday mornings, but I do not believe that before the passage of the amendment any space would have been given in the columns to any of these agencies. And again, the record of the Charity Organization Society would indicate that intemperance is a less serious question.

"Of course, there is in Buffalo, among the great numbers of our foreign population, a distinct feeling that a real imposition is being worked upon them in depriving them of their privilege to buy and sell and make alcoholic liquors. I think this an honest conviction upon the part of many of them; but one can offset this by a good many cases in which they feel that there may be some advantage in making it more difficult to obtain. This is true especially in the minds of the women who have suffered from intemperance upon the part of their husbands.

The Council of Churches in Buffalo has established recently a Committee on Law Enforcement for which their original aim was to get one thousand members. Without a great deal of effort that number has been increased to five thousand and people are still applying for membership. These represent very largely the wealthy and middle-class elements in the population, but are a slight indication of the fact that opinion is developing

in this community toward the idea that enforcement is possible and obligatory.

Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Buffalo are busy fabricating raw products to the use of man through the power of gas and coal and water with the labor of great foreign populations. Busy also with a score of different racial drink habits, with lax public officials, and with the group of well-to-do Americans whose patronage supports those who make and sell liquor in defiance of the law.

Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo are more prosperous than before the amendment, with rising curves in education and health.

CHAPTER XVI

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS

If we had got Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, all three at once into the field of a giant microscope, we might have seen the Eighteenth Amendment sweep down upon them, disturb them for a time, change their social and economic functioning, and then settle into a tentative adjustment that was not by and large an adjustment through observance. Part of the explanation is that their large foreign populations are used to drink; part that they are under the terrific strain of our speeded-up mass production, a new and preoccupying thing in human experience, and from the strain of which alcohol is a relaxation. If for these reasons prohibition operates imperfectly in the great working centers of the American finishing shop, how is it working in the smaller towns and cities, in the lesser divisions?

All these places are conditioned by the way people get their living; by the kind of industries their people work in and the kind of workers these industries attract. Very different men work in clothing factories from those in steel mills and with very different reactions to the prohibition law.

Take Akron, a busy, manufacturing city of over 200,000 people. Rubber is its giant industry. Hundreds of millions of dollars in rubber products, principally tires for the omnipresent automobiles of America. Millions

in foundry and machine shop; machines to carry out the inventiveness and cunning of the American genius. Hungarians, Austrians, Germans, and English people work in these industries. During the war hundreds of Negroes migrated, and in recent years, Greeks have begun to filter in. German and Teutonic peoples for the most part, used to beers and ales—malt liquors.

With this background, figures have significance. In 1919 when war-time restraints imposed their inhibitions upon all people alike there were arrests for violation of national prohibition laws. With the relaxing of these inhibitions and the normal ways of living reëstablishing themselves, arrests for violation of prohibition laws rose in 1925 to over one thousand.

During the war and afterward the world needed rubber products, needed the machines of the machine shops. Akron workers had steady work and good wages. "In 1918 intemperance figured in 83 of the families applying for aid to the Family Service Bureau. In 1925 intemperance figured in only 84 families."

According to Mr. H. T. Waller, secretary of the Y. M. C. A., "racial groups traditionally accustomed to free use of drink oppose prohibition, but the general reaction of these groups is fully as good as among Americans. Civic spirit has been developed to a much greater degree since the elimination of the saloon, and the situation among minors is for the most part much better than during saloon days."

Mansfield, Ohio, is a typical, progressive American city of 30,000 people with a foreign-born population of over 5,000. Rotary, Kiwanis, Y. M. C. A.s and Y. W. C. A.s, women's clubs, and churches, flourish. Flourish-

ing with them, because of the difficulty of breaking off old habits, is the bootlegger.

A settlement worker furnishes the background for one section of the city. "We had not less than twenty-three nationalities in our neighborhood, with Italians, Slavs, and Greeks predominating. After the war there was an influx of colored families. Mansfield is a railroad center and also has independent steel mills and brass works."

A social worker who had considerable experience in Mansfield at one time writes that "when prohibition went into effect, not a single saloon, as far as I know, closed its doors. Even the shutters and green curtains remained intact. They became soft-drink parlors and coffee houses. To their number were added others; stores that formerly had operated as secondhand furniture shops, small groceries, fruit stores, and barber shops."

The report goes on to tell that raids followed, arrests and fines. Sometimes the fines were paid by an association of men. However, other consequences than raids and fines came to the neighborhood. Expensive cars came, the cars of buyers and the cars of sellers; and homes were built in the new real-estate developments. "If there is less poverty today it is because of bootlegging," says another report.

Our informant says that after about three years of prohibition a well-organized "ring" was apparently in operation; "booze could be bought freely in the foreign end of the town." This resumption of the sale of liquor was gradual. Rich patrons made the business profitable. The career of a poor Macedonian is cited. His family of children virtually lived at the settlement. In two short years, such was his industry, after prohibition, that he purchased a large house and expensive car, bought a

restaurant, and he and his wife went back for a visit to the old country.

"How can one expect young sons to be in love with honest toil if the father gets rich quick by evading the law?" asks a social worker. "While bootleggers in our vicinity were buying property uptown, they supplied uptown trade as extensively as downtown. In the foreign districts there were raids and fines, but I never remember a single raid on an uptown cellar."

Mansfield, we are told by a former resident who knew the town well, is a typical Mid-Western town, differing in no wise from other communities where there are industries and foreign populations and rich buyers, where a new law is imposed upon old customs.

Springfield, Ohio, is a town where agricultural implements are made; where foundry and machine shops turn out their products; where steam, gas, and water engines are manufactured. Its population is mainly native white. Its foreign born come for the most part from disciplined and orderly Germany. English and Canadians live in Springfield, accenting Anglo-Saxon traditions. Even in this American setting "foreign groups are determined to have liquor, so make it in their homes."

From Union Settlement House comes the statement that in spite of some bootlegging, "the family and social conditions have immensely improved since prohibition."

One is conscious of Lima even in the night because of the smell of crude oil that comes stealing through the dark. A report of the Family Welfare Association says that Lima is a city of cultured people. It has a background of Dunkards and Mennonites whose religion enjoined temperance. It lies in the center of rich farming section and is the county seat for the countryside. Of

its 55,000 population only 5 per cent are foreign born, these including mainly German, Irish, English, and Canadian. Schools, clubs, and churches fill the life of the little city; thirty-two Protestant and three large Catholic churches.

In spite of some bootlegging and home brew, prohibition enforcement is apparently fairly well accomplished. Enforcement has, according to old residents of Lima, driven out the segregated districts and made the streets of that section safe.

"I have been told," says Mrs. Ella Brown, general secretary of the Family Welfare Association, "that drinking among minors is carried on in an unusual degree. I have been told by a local physician that parents come to him asking that he advise the young people.

"Men spend more time and money at home now. They pay the grocer and butcher in cash and women have sewing machines. A certain form of tobacco shops has sprung up in Lima in which people meet and grow convivial."

The sentiment of the town is apparently for enforcement and they have it or something very like it.

Toledo manufactures glass and steel. Its foundry and machine shops, its electrical machine shops, its flour and grist mills, its factories where automobile bodies and parts are made, do a business way up in the millions, the tens of millions, and employ besides native white peoples a large population of foreign-born folk. To this city, too, negroes have migrated in large numbers.

For a short time after the passage of the amendment wages in the glass and steel industries were high and work steady. The amendment, steady work and high wages, apparently greatly improved neighborhood condi-

tions. Then came a strike in the steel mills and industrial depression. New inventions enabled the glass manufacturers to replace their skilled laborers with machines. Then came poverty and need in spite of prohibition. Bootlegging has come in, the young people demand drink, and there are drinking parties on the marshes. However, the Monday-morning court docket for disorderly drinking has almost disappeared.

In a certain poor district in Toledo where employment has slackened and wages fallen, a steady deterioration of the workers has set in, according to the observation of social workers living in this section. "This condition we do not believe due to their nonobservance of the prohibition law, but to the barren, quarrelsome lives, immoral and irreligious, that so many of them lead."

Up from Toledo to the lake shore and over the Pennsylvania line is Erie, another of the units in the finishing shop. Here as in Toledo are factories and foreigners, Americans with surplus money, prosperity and prohibition. Are the skirts of the smaller town cleaner than those of the other industrial cities?

"There was for a period of time," writes Aaron M. Lopez, general secretary for the Erie Associated Charities, "following the passage of the prohibition act, a tacit observation of the law. Today there is an exceedingly large quantity of bootlegging and illicit manufacturing . . . there is a great deal of drunkenness and a substantial number of cases of illness and death because of the kind of liquor used. In 1925, 62 families out of 783 needed relief because of alcoholic intemperance. Particularly in the Polish district, it would seem that in almost every other home 'moonshine' was being made.

There is apparently more drinking on the part of younger people, both boys and girls, and boys frequently carry liquor with them."

Then comes the usual qualifying statement, "There is without doubt less drunkenness than before prohibition and less liquor consumed."

So Erie tunes in with Akron and Toledo and Mansfield and other smaller towns and its problems are the same as theirs.

From a small industrial town in Pennsylvania whose social worker asks that name and place be not mentioned comes this story. "Our neighborhood is 90 per cent better since prohibition. There were crime, disorder, trouble in the homes. Children were compelled to work.

"After 1918 came great prosperity. Less money was spent on drink and then there was increase in wages; children were kept in school longer."

As to present conditions: "We still have the saloon and the copper boilers in the stores and drunkenness in the homes. To me it is pathetic to see so many mothers drinking moonshine. There are three saloons across the street from our settlement; one seems to be doing a thriving business not only with foreigners, but with many called our best Americans. Our foreign people feel they have been unjustly treated and I think more young boys are drinking, as liquor is in their homes all the time. However, the situation is encouraging and I can see improvement."

On and up through the Alleghenies, close cropped of their forests to meet our insatiable demand for print paper, over the Pennsylvania line and down through Cattaraugus County into Olean with its car shops and

its tanneries, its American population and its tuberculosis survey still in progress.

"In Cattaraugus County we are unable, with the exception of possibly six cases, definitely to link up alcohol either directly or indirectly with tuberculosis," says W. C. Jensen, director of the tuberculosis survey. "In six cases there is no doubt that excessive drinking has played a definite part in the lowering of the social and economic standard of the families involved."

And then over into the Genesee Valley and down the river to Rochester. It was undoubtedly the falls of the Genesee that started Rochester on its industrial career, that established factories there. Vast amounts of raw material are converted into clothing, boots and shoes, collars, furniture, baby carriages, books, dishes, toys. The great Eastman Kodak plants are here. Much varied industry makes employment relatively steady.

Rochester has foreign people. Has Americans with money for its boots and shoes, its tailored clothes, its cameras, its bootleg. Rochester has social settlements, prohibition, and a city's problem of enforcement.

Two reports come to me from Rochester—one from a Jewish section fast losing its racial character; one from a section largely Italian but with a slight mixture of other foreign peoples.

Mrs. Gertrude M. Jerdone of the Baden Street Settlement writes us that before national prohibition liquor was "only a minor source of hardship to the Jewish neighborhood; that higher wages brought about the higher standard of living." This opinion is shared by the workers of the Italian Housekeeping Center, who state that "the improvement in the economic world is

responsible for the present well-being among Rochester's factory workers."

According to the Rochester Police Report for 1917 "men and women resort to the barroom for social intercourse, games, music, singing, occasional dancing." This social function of the saloon is now partly taken over by the "movies and auto riding." The drinking factor of the saloon is supplied by blind pigs, home manufacture. One of our neighborhood relief agencies reports that at least ten of their families indulge in bootlegging and are now self-supporting.

"Crime has increased in our neighborhood and public intoxication enormously, due, I think, to Americans and foreigners other than our Jewish neighbors. Our young people drink openly today," says Mrs. Jerdone.

Rochester, it must be remembered, is a city with a great number of foreign-born workers—over 22 per cent of the population. Italians are in the lead, followed numerically by Germans and Poles and peoples from the British Isles.

In one of these groups is a settlement from which a worker writes: "None of the present workers in —— have a single good thing to say for the present prohibition situation, as we feel that it has ruined our neighborhood, where respect for law and order has materially lessened. In the four years I have been here there has been a very grave change for the worse."

A worker among Italians states that "the young people have always had wine at home and among them there is no great change. The automobile is more of a problem than drink. Women as well as men resent the amendment. All our neighborhood agree in their resentment. They are exasperated and dislike the law.

Those breaking it are far more prosperous financially, and the reaction of those who are not bootlegging is naturally very bad. The workers feel that we have seen a neighborhood wrecked so far as its better elements of life are concerned. The worst of it is that drink and drunkenness were practically never the cause of the problems of our immediate group. We have nothing to say in favor of the present situation."

Against flagrant violations Mayor Martin O'Neil and Captain Kavanaugh are apparently waging conscientious warfare. There was an increase of 474 arrests for the month of September, 1926, over the corresponding month of 1925. Three hundred white and colored lawbreakers were driven from the city. "One ward where speak-easies and blind pigs flourished now has fifty-five vacant places. Into vacated houses respectable families are moving. A lifelong resident of this 'cleaned-up' district said that for the first time in five years a landlord in a section which formerly was most vicious had considered it advisable to make improvements on his property."

On east from Rochester and into Connecticut. Driving north toward Danbury we passed through lovely residence towns one after another—Bedford, Ridgefield, Salem, Cross River, places where families live in the houses their grandfathers built, under the trees their grandfathers planted, where grandmother's tiger lilies still blossom by the gate, and where the grandsons perennially renew the white paint on the clapboards and the dark green on the original shutters. But when the road has swung beyond these towns, crossed a little bridge and climbed a hill into Danbury, the atmosphere of beautiful New England culture is gone. To the left glitter the windows of a hat factory, row on row. Danbury is given

over, body and boots, to the making of felt hats. Though there are machine shops and paper-box factories as subsidiary industries, hat making is the town's characteristic occupation.

The homes of the hatters of Danbury have not grown lovelier from father to son. After the loss of their famous strike a generation back, the court decision that each individual striker was responsible for the loss the factory owners suffered through the strike, resulted in the confiscation of many of their homes and the discouragement of the whole town. Danbury is not bright with white and green paint, but gray and discouraged. The hatters have worked on from generation to generation and they have little to show for it, unless you count hatter's shakes, which is a form of mercury poisoning.

How does prohibition work in Danbury?

Before prohibition there were fifty-four saloons in the two blocks leading to the factories. An official in one of the hat factories said: "On pay day the workers used to go out of one saloon and into another, or remain in one till they had spent most of their wages."

As a result, on Monday morning about 40 per cent of the force would fail to report for work, and it would take till Wednesday to organize the shop thoroughly. A great number of women would call for their husbands' pay to prevent its being all spent on drink, and children would wait at the saloon doors to take home their drunken fathers. There were many strikes, but no violence, though the saloons used to be meeting places for the townspeople. The director of the Americanization League, who has lived in Danbury since 1882, says that

treating was the curse of the community and that the saloon was the breeding place for labor troubles.

Immediately after prohibition, drunkenness nearly disappeared from the streets, the jail was practically empty. There is a feeling among people in the town that, since the work of making felt hats is seasonal and lasts only about five months of the year, during which time the hatters are under great strain, and also because of "hatter's shakes," it is necessary for the workers to drink, and so they gather in private clubs and speakeasies where they pay more for drinks and get poorer beverages.

How much drinking there is nobody in Danbury knows, but against the facts of bootlegging are balanced the statements of a representative of another hat company that "Our Monday morning problem" is now practically nonexistent. "Eighty per cent of the workers report for work; they are better dressed and they seem better fed; many of them have automobiles. No more do women come to the factory to collect their husbands' wages, nor do children wait at the saloon doors to take home their drunken fathers. Although the population of Danbury has not increased, yet we have had to build a new high school to relieve our overcrowded one."

After gray, depressed Danbury, into bustling Waterbury with its brass and watch factories, its machine shops and foundries, its factories where needles, pins and hooks and eyes flow like little steel streams from cunning machines, where 100,000 people are kept busy.

"The largest foreign group is Italian, there being about 20,000 of them. There are Lithuanians, Russians, and Poles. The Yankees control the big business of the city, while the Irish control politics."

This town is prosperous; it has picked up since 1922 and banks show that savings accounts are increasing. There is never a time when the American people is willing to go without watches, needles and pins and hooks and eyes and modern plumbing. Is it willing to go without a saloon and drink? A police officer stated: "All Waterbury is now a huge saloon; one drink of bad whisky turns a timid youth into a bold hold-up man and much of the present crime wave is due to bad liquor."

A Waterbury official stated that under the first two years of prohibition the number of arrests for intemperance fell sharply from the number in pre-prohibition days, but in later years there has been a steady increase of arrests for drunkenness. The lowest number was 585 in 1921; there were 1,315 in 1925.

A man who has been engaged in social work in Waterbury for thirty years, adds to the blackness of this picture. He says that "normal conditions among the young as well as among the adults have become worse than prior to prohibition. The city is as wet as the sound of its name." Boys congregate with former saloon *habitués* in speak-easies, private clubs, pool rooms, road houses and public dance halls. Most of the places are not licensed and, therefore, cannot be controlled.

There is, however, a dryer side even to wet Waterbury. Mr. Eugene Kerner, who has been with the Lincoln Welfare Association for fifteen years, said that he has noticed a marked improvement among the poorer classes. Only about 5 per cent of the applications for aid now are due to intemperance. The percentage, prior to prohibition, ran as high as 50 per cent. He said emphatically that prohibition in conjunction with high wages and steady employment has benefited the needy.

Waterbury is an industrial city; it prospers with its industrial plants; these are the barometers. One of the assistants to the general manager of the Chase and Co. Brass Factory stated that the factory physician reported the health of the employees much better since prohibition. Fewer accidents occur now in the afternoons than when the employees would drink during the lunch hour and return to work under the influence of alcohol. The foreman no longer complained of the Monday-morning problem, as 90 per cent of the force reports for work. Employees are steadier and the labor turnover is smaller.

Even in wet Waterbury, where nearly 30 per cent of the population are foreign born or of foreign parentage!

It is not far to Hartford where they make typewriters. Other things incidentally, but preëminently typewriters. Hartford is the capital of Connecticut and in the middle of Connecticut's tobacco country. From the standpoint of the workers, the production of typewriters is its chief occupation. An enormous group of middle-class "white collar" workers work in the printing and publishing concerns, especially for the life insurance companies who have their headquarters in Hartford.

Hartford, roughly speaking, is a middle-class American city. Among the foreign born or of foreign parentage, the Irish are far and away in the lead, followed by Germans, English, Canadians, and Austrians. Southern European countries have small quotas in this city.

The Charity Organization Society reports that in 1914, 9½ per cent of all cases it handled needed help because of intemperance; that in 1921, immediately after the passage of the amendment, only 1½ per cent came to them for this cause; but that by 1925 the number had gone up to 8 per cent. The police docket, on the con-

trary, shows a steady decrease. In 1914, 60 per cent of the arrests were because of intemperance; in 1921, 40 per cent; in 1925, only 35 per cent. Strangely enough, a public official doesn't agree with the record. He says the number of bootleggers and speak-easies, as well as the amount of drinking, has been steadily increasing. Many of those arrested during Saturday and Sunday are workers in tobacco fields who come to Hartford to get drunk. "That is the reason for the great number of arrests found on our records Monday morning." Another officer states that drinking prevails as much now among all classes as it did prior to prohibition and that he notices no change whatever.

But the head of the Welfare Department of one of the industries which employs 4,500 workers says that very few workers stay away from the job because of drunkenness and that the nurses' reports show that the homes of the workers are in a better condition than prior to prohibition. While this may be due in part to higher wages and steadier employment, he has no doubt that much of it is due to the fact that the workers do not drink so much as in pre-prohibition days. Taking all these elements together, he is convinced that the experiment of prohibition was well worth while and that, at any rate, the drunkard is now off the street.

Big Hartford has enough industries so that if a worker loses a job in a typewriter plant there is a fair chance of finding something else to do without leaving town. It is different in Willimantic on the eastern side of the state.

Here are only 12,000 people; and the only places to work are in the thread and velvet mills. The population of Willimantic is largely composed either of those of

foreign parentage or of the foreign born. French Canadians predominate, Poles and Italians come next in numbers, while many of the old settlers are Irish. It is as much a woman's town as Los Angeles, but for quite different reasons. Women go to southern California for rest and for health and easy life. Women come to Willimantic because even for the slightly skilled there is work. Most of the breadwinners in the town are women. Not only the widows and the spinsters, but the married women have to work because men's wages are so low that a man cannot support his family; and the children enter the mill quite young, notwithstanding the sixteen-year limit of the child-labor law.

According to one of the social workers the American Thread Company dominates Willimantic both politically and economically. To keep full power in its hands, it went so far as to buy out the land purchased by the Singer Sewing Machine Company so that the latter could not build a factory there. The thread company has practically forced the town to stand still.

Before prohibition, the Monday-morning problem was not the difficulty it often was elsewhere, because 60 per cent of the employees were women.

It is hard to make comparisons in Willimantic because there was a strike in the mill and a large labor turnover among the employees.

I went through Willimantic while this strike was in progress. A miserable tent colony at the outskirts of the town held the workers. They had been there a long time when I saw them; the tents were gray; banners were torn and faded. Autumn was beginning and winter was coming on.

A clergyman said, "The last strike lasted eighteen

months and my people were involved. Some of them have worked forty years in the mill for the company and by going on strike they lost their pensions. Yet there was no violence nor actual starvation. They seemed to get through it somehow and they are getting along somehow now, but if the saloon had been open it would have been worse."

Shabby and dirty, Willimantic has no nice neighborhood because it has not a real middle class. The mill workers own little or no property and are not sure of their employment, while the mill owners live in England and are not interested in the welfare of Willimantic. The houses have few modern conveniences. A new coat of paint is an unusual thing. Even when the young people marry they must occupy the same kind of houses in the same kind of neighborhood.

"Before prohibition," said Mr. E. P. Chasbro, the president of the selectmen and the commissioner in charge of all relief work, "Willimantic had thirty-four saloons located one after another along the Main Street. Saturday night was a busy one for the police. Men didn't hesitate to spend their wages, since the women worked." Mr. Chasbro says that very few cases for aid come to him now that are due to drink. There are some heavy drinkers, but even the old "soaks" have stopped drinking because good liquor costs so much. Even the families of those who drink are better off now and don't apply for aid, though before prohibition they had to be supported all the time. Willimantic did not go through the great wave of prosperity that other localities knew. Immediately after the war there was a big slump and there has been no period of real money-making since.

"Notwithstanding the long-drawn-out strike, there

have been fewer demands for relief than before the war. Although many in Willimantic are making booze and selling, and some have children working in the mills, the real reason why there are not more applicants for aid is to be found in the abolition of the saloon."

"There may be many more speak-easies," said an official, "than there were saloons prior to prohibition, but the amount of money spent in them is not so large. Indeed, a man cannot spend as much now as he used to because two or three drinks costing him twenty cents to fifty cents each will knock him out. There are many arrests made for drunkenness, but the men's families do not suffer as much as prior to prohibition when they left their wages in the saloons."

He was very emphatic in his belief that the abolition of the saloons was a good thing for the community, but that prohibition was a failure. He also said that the saloons and automobiles could not exist at the same time.

Miss Elizabeth P. Anderson of the Welfare Bureau says that Willimantic had its poor before prohibition and still has them, but they are not now in as dire need as they used to be and drunkenness is not the direct cause of their poverty.

Further east in Massachusetts are the old cotton-mill towns of New Bedford and Fall River. Like Willimantic, they were mill towns when the industrial revolution came to America. The mill workers of that time were the sons and daughters of those who had come from England, Scotland, and Ireland a generation before. With the speeding up of mill production, the race balance shifted and the drink habits of the Anglo-Saxons were changed for those of the Mediterranean group.

What the situation was in New Bedford before the amendment is told by the Rev. C. F. Hersey, head of the City Mission there for thirty-two years. "In pre-prohibition days we were surrounded by a circle of sixteen saloons, six drug stores, and five clubs, all dispensing unlimited quantities of booze. Additional to these were many 'speak-easies' which did enough business to pay the United States license but sold in defiance of the state law and the city authorities. Our population at the South End is cosmopolitan, mostly non-American and about 40 per cent non-English speaking. Friday and Saturday nights the saloons were packed to the limit, extra bartenders were put on, and a big business was always done on these days, which were pay nights in the mills. Sundays the clubs and drug stores and the speak-easies did a rushing business, also on holidays and election days. The men came from the mill with their pay envelopes and went direct to the saloon, paid their score for the week and treated the boys before they went home. When it was hard times and slack work the drinking man was the inefficient and undependable hand and he was laid off first. They always took the children out of school and put them to work as soon as the law would allow. Drink was never legally sold at dances then or now. Of course, the hip flask is there now as it was then.

"There is not much more bootlegging than in pre-prohibition days. Certainly not as much liquor is dispensed as in the old days when we saw every Monday morning huge drays filled with barrels emptied by the trade of Saturday. We have much less of the effects of liquor even with enforcement as poor as it is than under license. Much of the bootlegging is under the

direction of a big syndicate which is making money and those they employ get good pay, but they are few."

Of the present situation a partial picture has come to us through a group of collective opinions. This shows in this cotton mill town many of the evils which have followed the operation of the Eighteenth Amendment in the larger cities. Many of the descendants of the skilled mill operatives are running stills in their own homes and these stills, as in New York and Chicago, are being tended by boys and girls. There seems to be no preponderance of one race over another in this practice. Since there is a large influx of Portuguese, quite naturally more of them than of other nationalities are engaged in bootlegging.

The depression in the cotton industry in New Bedford is the reverse of the rise of the cotton industry of the South. Thousands of spindles have moved nearer to the cotton fields and to the poor white labor. The fact of the New Bedford industrial depression has sent women into the mills quite without reference to the Eighteenth Amendment.

There is no question in anybody's mind that if you know the right people to ask you can get drink anywhere in New Bedford. A group of women operatives in the mills, many of whom were in favor of the law when it was first passed, are now opposed to it because it brings liquor into the home. They have said, also, that liquor is sometimes sold clandestinely in the mills, and they feel that the present situation is worse than the previous one.

Among the younger people, however, there is rising interest in athletics. The young men are devoting a great deal more time to outdoor sports than they did previous to prohibition. This is a phase which we have found in

other parts of the country and the opinion seems to be that athletics and alcohol do not mix.

Miss Thornton of the Children's Aid Society says: "We have an eighteen-year-old boy who says that liquor is brought into the mill. About a month or six weeks ago he drank a pint of this stuff and really was paralyzed for about seven hours. He says liquor is brought in all the time, but this particular brand was unusually poisonous. He did not mean to drink it all, but he got started and finished it up. This shows what goes on in the mills."

Miss Rowe of the Family Welfare Society says: "There is a great deal of poverty in New Bedford, but on the surface much of it seems to be due to the present industrial situation. In our own families we have not noticed any appreciable amount of drinking on the part of minors."

I took the boat to Fall River to meet a group which Miss Florence Nye had invited to King Philip Settlement House. This stands on a height of land overlooking both the bay and the inland water supply, and under its windows are mills and mills. Just as the 160-foot drop of the Big Sioux River had made Sioux Falls, so the fact that the fresh water stands there 129 feet above sea level has created Fall River by giving employment to 20,000 people in the cotton mills and drawing to it the sort of people who made good operatives.

"The population fluctuates between 125,000 and 130,000. Portuguese are about one-fourth; French Canadians about one-fourth; English, Polish, Italians and many other nationalities in good numbers. The city is 85 per cent Roman Catholic."

Looking at that group of people who knew the prohibi-

tion situation, I felt there was something impending—something sinister. As we talked together I wondered what it was. Suddenly I knew! I was not prepared to face it again. I rose and stood before them.

"I'd like to tell you a story," I began. "It was in Keokuk or maybe Minneapolis that a man asked a policeman where he could get a drink, and the officer said: 'Do you see the second turn to the left? Well, it's an alley and you go down there to the fourth house where a negro woman lives. It's the only place where . . .'"

There was a monitory stirring, but I ruthlessly put it through.

Out of his thirty-seven years of experience as superintendent of King Philip Mill, which employs approximately 1,100 hands, Mr. Richard G. Riley gives the following opinion:

"In the beginning I want to state that to my mind the Volstead Act as passed in 1917 is one of the greatest blessings that ever befell the working people, especially those in the textile business. I can honestly say that I have seen more poverty, more distress due to drink than to any other cause. For twenty-five years I have been an executive of the mill and I have never known a time, until the past few years, that we could pay off any day except Saturday. If we did, so many employees would be missing the following morning that we could scarcely operate. Today we could pay off at any time and open as usual the next morning. As for efficiency in the mill, I can truthfully say that never have we had such efficiency in the mill as since the enactment of the prohibition law. We are accomplishing things today which would have been impossible previous to the passage of the Volstead Act. From the insurance point

of view, facts and figures show that our insurance rate is lower today than at any time in the history of the mill. I believe that this is due to just one thing—the taking of rum out of the community. In giving these instances I am giving absolute facts that I personally know are true. The want in the mill neighborhood is not 10 per cent of what it was prior to the Volstead Act and I sincerely hope that never again will we return to license.

"Conditions since the passing of the Volstead Act are greatly improved. It is, indeed, rare nowadays to meet an injured man with signs of intoxicating liquor. They are, as a general rule, anxious to return to work in order that they may earn full wages for the support of their families. They also respond better to medical treatment and we never have complaints from the injured men's wives. Our experience also shows us that we do not have as many Monday-morning accidents, and the number of serious accidents in our factories have greatly decreased, for the very reason that when the men report for work each morning their nerves are steady and there are no after effects from the night before."

"There is more drinking in the public parks than before national prohibition went into effect," says Mr. Howard Lothrop, Superintendent of Public Parks, "due to the fact that habitual drinkers having illegally obtained liquor, seek the seclusion of shrubbery to drink clandestinely and treat their friends. If not caught in the act, they frequently become sufficiently intoxicated to attract the attention of officers as they emerge from their hiding places. It is the general feeling among the park officials that drinking among the youths in public parks has not increased during the last few years; that the of-

fenders are those who habitually use liquor and have no money to pay for the seclusion of clubrooms."

Miss Mary A. Jones, superintendent of the District Nursing Association, says, "Notwithstanding the general industrial depression of the past three or four years, the years since the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, conditions in most of the homes, so far as liquor is concerned, have greatly improved. Many people have sought work in vain and families have been obliged to call on the city for aid or appeal to private agencies; less money has been earned, but cases of poverty due to drink have been fewer. It is believed that improved conditions in some of these homes are due to money earned by the illegal selling of liquor; but these homes are few compared with the number of saloons which formerly existed."

Mr. Henry Wade, for seventeen years a school-attendance officer in Fall River, says: "Since we have had prohibition I have never seen one person under the influence of liquor in any home I have visited for the purpose of finding why children were absent from school."

Mr. Thomas Chew, superintendent of the Fall River Boys' Club, says: "In the men's department, boys from fourteen years to men, there is never any talk of drink and out of 1,500 members I have seen no sign of liquor upon them or in their lockers. They are not what may be called good fellows, just average fellows, who work in the mills. I think most of them are temperate from choice. Athletics and rum do not mix."

Mr. John F. Callahan of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children says: "As shown by the records of this society, working as it does with the worst type of family problems, intemperance as a cause of child

abuse and neglect is now down to nearly one-third of what it was before national prohibition. Thus far, in spite of certain admitted evils, we believe that the social gain far outweighs the social loss."

Mr. John T. Swift, Police Commissioner, treasurer of the Citizens Savings Bank, and an attorney of Fall River, told me that before the amendment was passed, a careful estimate had been made of the money spent in saloons by the people of Fall River and that it amounted approximately to $4,000,000 a year. "Whether or not there is any connection to account for the matter," continued Mr. Swift, "the result remains that during the time since prohibition the increase in the savings deposits of the local banks has amounted approximately to that sum every year."

After the meeting of the social group was over, I went with Miss Nye to see Captain Bogan, who had been twenty years on the police force.

"Better?" he said. "Of course it's better. Let me tell you that for one the Volstead Act has made to suffer there's nine it's done good to."

Fall River is relatively dry. In spite of the fact that liquor is brought over the state line from Rhode Island and that there are said to be rum-runners on the coast, and that trolley lines and good motor roads connect it with territory where the federal enforcement officers must ply their trade unassisted by the state, the consensus of opinion of the social workers and those on whose word they rely is that alcohol has become only a minor problem since the passage of the amendment.

CHAPTER XVII

MAINE

Beyond the cotton-mill towns, still going east, though the cold begins to send exploring fingers along the coast and the Atlantic lashes furiously at the rocks it lapped so quietly three months before. But it is so important to know how prohibition works in Maine. The answer should be conclusive, for Maine has had prohibition since 1851. There never has been much doubt in the mind of a state of Maine man that prohibition will work. Four times prohibition has been voted on and a popular majority given in its favor.

Maine, with a population of less than the city of Baltimore, is largely of Anglo-Saxon stock. It is Puritan in origin; Puritan in allegiance. French Canadians work in the timber forests, and along Maine's rugged coast Portuguese fishermen from the Azores are the sturdy descendants of the old whalers. The southern Mediterranean peoples have shied away from the long biting Maine winters, and Slavic peoples rush by Maine, head-on into the great factories of New York, Chicago, and the Middle Western cities.

Maine remained the home of the Anglo-Saxon. Diversified is the state: lakes and mountains; a tortuous, picturesque coast line, and deep forests—white pine, spruce and hemlock, balsam, birch and cedar, oak, maple,

beech, ash, and linden—trees that have lived with man from earliest day.

The fact that French Canadians, wine users, lived as neighbors; the fact that deep-sea fishermen have always had their liquor, that lumberjacks in logging camps and men doing heavy exposed work have always been hard drinkers; the fact that tourists by thousands came during the summer to enjoy its pines, its sea—these facts did not influence the state of Maine man. He wanted prohibition. He wanted the "grog shop" as he called it, ruled out. Grog he had in his home, but he didn't want grog selling in his Anglo-Saxon state. He said so in 1838 and he kept on saying so. His was the first state in 1851 to tell the whole nation that the state of Maine was a state of prohibition. However, notwithstanding the repeated direct expression of the Maine man's will, "Prohibition," says Dr. Leigh Colvin in his *Prohibition in the United States*, "Prohibition continued to be poorly enforced most of the time."

The reasons of Maine's failure to enforce state prohibition are interesting because these explanations parallel those of social workers everywhere in explaining lax enforcement of national prohibition.

"The border," said Maine.

"The border," say social workers of Detroit, Minneapolis, and all across the northern states to Seattle.

"The border," say social workers in Los Angeles, in New Mexico, in Texas.

"The sea," said Maine, "and coastwise shipping."

"The sea, and the ships up and down the coast," said Santa Barbara.

"The subversion and submersion of enforcement to

party politics," said the state of Maine back in the elegant 'eighties.

"Politics and 'fixers' and bosses and heelers," say our reports in the less elegant today.

"Ingenious devices to escape detection," continues the Maine man of the 'eighties.

"Blind pigs! Blind tigers! Speak-easies!" our report.

"Legislators who ran the party in the interests of the grog shops while making sham profession of devotion to prohibition," says the man from Maine.

"Men who act wet but vote dry," replies the laconic social worker.

"Kitchen bars" in old Maine.

"Night clubs" in young Chicago.

And the state of Maine man tells of the New England kitchen where on a Boston rocker, ruffled and pillowed, sat an old paralyzed grandmother and concealed beneath her a jug of whisky. And the social worker tells of "booze flats" where in the elegance of a metropolitan drawing-room liquor can be gotten if one has the money and is "known." Here the "hostess" receives and a dainty maid in black gown and dimity cap and apron serves the "guests."

"Kitchens are easier to raid than drawing-rooms," say wise social workers.

"Liquor in canes, liquor in bustles and flasks," says Maine.

"Flasks!" The state of Maine man on his old farm with the well sweep and the social worker in cities the country over use the same language.

"Flasks," they say, and add, "the young."

And the Maine man tells of Samuel F. Pearson of Cumberland County, a gospel missionary who was elected

sheriff on the platform "The prohibition law can be enforced. The prohibition law ought to be enforced. If elected, God helping me, I will enforce the law."

He seized sixty-one rum shops on the first day. Hotels and other places where liquor was sold, knowing Sheriff Pearson, sent their liquor away. He kept right after the lawbreakers. Did prohibition work? Say, Sheriff Pearson turned back 40 per cent of the pauper fund to the county in a year, and the county got out of debt and the hotels did more business and the leading bootseller allowed how he was selling the worst drunkards in Maine boots of a Saturday night. Not a saloon, not a kitchen bar open. And when he died the *Boston Globe* had a piece in the paper about him, saying "Upon the monument . . . ought to be inscribed his own words, 'The prohibition law can be enforced.'"

"By Gum! the prohibition law can be enforced," replied a sheriff along the old covered wagon trail.

The border, politics, ever-new evasions, supine officials in Maine . . . but comparatively little of the great foreign groups used to the vine, used to hard liquor, says the state of Maine man.

"An immensely longer border, far more intricate politics, widening into international relationships, newer evasions, unsympathetic officials, large race groups organized politically and disbelieving in the law—your Maine problem enlarged to a national scale," answer the workers from every city up and down the country and widthwise of it.

"Maine has long been substantially enforcing prohibition," says Clarence W. Peabody, judge of Portland's municipal court, "with the exception of isolated communities where there are other races accustomed to the

use of liquors. In Portland, where the population has always been preëminently American, the majority has favored enforcement, but at times, owing to the power of the liquor interests, officials were lax in their enforcement.

"It is the elimination of this force in our local elections which is perhaps the most noticeable result of the adoption of national prohibition. Left to ourselves, there is nothing to prevent the election of sheriffs and others favorable to the strict enforcement of the law.

"Our present sheriff has been repeatedly elected. He is enthusiastic in respect to the enforcement of the prohibitory law. That is his one object in life.

"The other most obvious result in Maine of national prohibition is the character of the liquor business. This still continues in certain localities. But the sales are made in alleys or kitchens, and in the better parts of the city by delivery to patrons at their homes, and there is no gathering together for social drinking except in a few lumberyards, wharves, or dumps. There is no drinking at public banquets. Personally I have never seen liquor drunk in Portland since the national prohibition amendment.

"I understand that there are fewer cases of intoxication in court than formerly. This is in no wise a safe test. Those who belong to the more favored classes are not brought into court, as a rule, unless they make trouble, and those who have no homes to hide in always run the risk of arrest.

"My belief is that there is decidedly less drinking among the well-balanced middle classes and among those laboring men who have intelligence and self-respect, and decidedly less drinking among younger people ex-

cept to show off. For the man who appreciates the value of money the price of liquor is prohibitive. The poor who have no appreciation of the value of money may be worse off. They are led to spend their whole fortune, and the result is somewhat deadly. I think that among those of the wealthy classes who drink, the change in the law and the cost of liquor make no great difference except in the quality of their liquor.

"On the whole, it is my opinion that the national prohibition law has made it easier for the local authorities to control the situation. This has been somewhat offset by the advent of the automobile and other changes in custom.

"I am speaking, of course, of my own community where we want the law enforced. It can be substantially enforced as well as any other law."

"In order to appreciate fully the great change which has come with the passage of the national amendment one would want to understand that even though Maine had a prohibitory *law* there were always times and localities where it was not strictly enforced," writes Benjamin F. Cleaves, executive secretary of the Associated Industries of Maine. "It was entirely lawful for an individual to have for his own use any kind of liquor sent from a 'wet' state, delivered to a consignee. Druggists were authorized to carry all kinds of liquor.

"Under these circumstances it was a very easy matter for almost any one to have any reasonable quantity of liquor.

"When I was judge of the police court of Biddeford, an industrial town, every Monday morning was an event. I would have anywhere from one dozen to fifty cases up for intoxication.

"Since the passage of the amendment I have talked with the judge of the same court and he says oftentimes an entire week goes by without a single person being brought before the court charged with any kind of criminal offense.

"Now human nature in Biddeford hasn't changed a particle and the only new thing which can account for the change in the court was the prohibitory amendment.

"And now for our industries. Industrially, here in Maine we have no 'Monday morning,' except that the calendar so indicates. I hardly need to even call attention to the selfish difference which that makes to the employer. His labor turnover is much smaller, he has a reasonably cheerful and healthy group in full force come to his plant on Monday morning, and in that particular group there is no particular grouch and no serious trouble; the work which is accomplished is capably carried on, and the manufacturer fully realizes the advantage which it is to him from a purely selfish point of view. Of course there is the benefit to the individual worker in health, comfort, individual and family happiness, and in savings-bank deposits in our industrial centers. I have talked with bank men all over the state, and they say that during even relatively hard times the number of depositors since the Eighteenth Amendment has very materially increased and the volume very substantially increased.

"I know of many employers who are not teetotallers but I guarantee that here in the state of Maine if any suggestion of a repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment was made they would make a vigorous effort to keep the Constitution as it is and to continue effort for enforcement of the law."

A teacher writes from Augusta, Maine: "I almost never see a drunken man now. The last one I saw attracted the attention of the whole block. The public reaction was one of great disgust compared with what I have observed ten years ago."

She inclosed in her letter to us a clipping from a local newspaper showing an increase of 11.8 in the sales of the mail-order house over the previous year. The writer attributes this healthy condition to the closing of 171,000 saloons in the country.

She says that there are still raids, arrests, that stills and bottles are found, but that liquor has become of small importance in the industrial life of the town. "When the mills are running we are all happy."

"I will say," writes Mrs. ——, writing from Augusta, "that this state is strongly behind the Eighteenth Amendment. The improvement among the laboring men is so great that all employers admit the benefits. Banks show marvelous increase in savings; the hospitals show decrease in cases of alcoholism. No seeker for office could be elected in Maine on a wet ticket. Maine is as firm as ever, and when we can get *all* of our public officials to deal as rigidly with this part of the Constitution as the rest of it we will indeed have a dry state in spite of our nearness to the Canadian border."

The state of Maine man is of the state of mind he was in 1851 when he voted his state dry.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PORTS OF THE ATLANTIC

The great cities along the Atlantic are important in any study of prohibition not because they are accessible to alcohol, but because they are accessible to people. Relatively little alcohol is entering through them, but many people are coming in. It is true that immigration is restricted, but visitors are not, and thousands of our own citizens, both born and acquired, sweep periodically out and in through these ports.

This study has shown that the operation of the Eighteenth Amendment depends on race more than locality, on tradition more than law, on active public opinion more than active police officers. These port cities are the least American part of the United States—the Boston, Philadelphia, and New York of the social workers are foreign cities. For hundreds of miles the Atlantic seaboard is indented with harbors—and in every harbor a port of some sort for sea trade; at every harbor it is conceivable that men or alcohol might be landed—Boston, Providence, New Haven, all along Long Island Sound; New York and the towns of the Jersey coast; the mouth of the Delaware—Philadelphia—capes and bays, river mouths and rocks, landlocked harbors and yellow sand beaches—places to play and places to work—an intricate pattern of land edge against the sea.

From the standpoint of this study, Boston is not the

fountainhead of American culture, the home of Harvard, nor the scene of the Boston Tea Party; it is merely the most northern of the great ports of the Atlantic and the residence of nearly a million people, about one-third of whom are of foreign races accustomed to drink alcohol. For practically all immigrants into the United States are from wet countries, and even Boston cannot select all its incoming citizens from Turkey, Norway, and the Aleutian Isles. The drink habits of the Irish, the Canadian, the Italian, the Russian, the Jew and the Negro are the six great prohibition problems in Boston. Is she solving them?

That depends on what you mean by solving!

Those fifty-two requests for information that make up the preliminary questionnaire show great race groups reacting true to type. The Irish are drinking of the contentious fluid and are as much ag'in' the amendment as though the British Parliament were trying to put it over on them. The Italians are making and drinking their own wine, and both the Jews and the Italians are selling it, largely to the well-to-do Americans outside of their own neighborhoods. The other races are reacting each after its own kind, little drinking among the Negroes, much among the Poles and the Lithuanians. These reports show, also, social workers protesting that conditions are becoming too bad to be endured, what with poison liquor and boys and girls drinking and lax enforcement bringing disrespect for all law; and then these same social workers offering statistics and records, the opinions of medical and health experts and the experts in that rarer art of living and observing, the testimony of bankers and case workers and librarians and lodging-house keepers and psychiatrists, to show that

the whole level of health and happiness and law and order and prosperity and education has risen since the amendment was passed, though they are not prepared to say, any of them, that prohibition is more than a contributing cause.

"Everybody felt that obedience to the law was the first duty of a citizen, yet nobody felt that obedience to this law was the first duty of any citizen," writes Mr. Albert J. Kennedy of South End House.

In Boston, as in other quarters, there was some enforcement immediately after the law went into effect and a great improvement was seen by the social workers at South End House. The women came in with stories of better family conditions, boasted of more time and money for recreation.

The number of "scratch houses"—men's cheap lodging houses—in the district was cut in half. Now, however, there are as many as there ever were. Drinking among young men is conspicuous and the mothers' clubs are hopeless about the enforcement of the law, which they believe to be good in itself.

It is the feeling of the resident group of South End House that if a referendum on prohibition were taken with the assurance that the law could be enforced, 99 per cent of the women in the neighborhood would probably vote for it.

There are eight reports in from Boston, and when the more or less formal work of filling out the questionnaire was happily over—and Boston got through this better than most—it shifted into the time-tested method of case studies and personal records and sent in the raw material of which statistics are made—statistical skeletons with the flesh and bones still on them. There are sixty-one

personal stories and statements. It is these accounts that embody the special characteristics of Boston as a port.

One of these is from an old neighborhood resident in the South End who pessimistically believes that the young people are all drinking. She feels that they consider it the thing to do and that a youth who once would have been considered a bum because he carried a flask, is now a hero. She finds that there has been a right-about-face in popular opinion among the young people and that something like a moral revolution is taking place as a result of the prohibition amendment. She feels that all the good work of generations of temperance propaganda has been wiped out.

Another neighborhood resident is convinced that some of the police are corrupt and that the dance halls are full of young people with flasks. He urges government control and maintains that he sees as much drunkenness on the streets as he did at any previous time in the South End. A third person is of the opinion that the parks are as bad as ever they were and that Franklin and Blackstone parks are favorite stamping grounds for drunks. This is not a condition peculiar to Boston and the explanation is that men buying liquor and having no saloon to drink in betake themselves to the privacy of the park.

Boston knows how illicit liquor gets to the consumer, where it comes from, and what it is, and also what it does to the people who drink it. There is a group of four physicians whose statements have come through Mr. Kennedy.

The first, whom we shall call Dr. Brown, says: "The present method of producing whisky is to secure alcohol of any sort and turn it into a drink of which kerosene oil

is the base. Flavoring matter of molasses, wintergreen, peppermint, and other aromatic oils is added. This stuff can be sold very cheaply at a considerable profit and is evidently quite heavily bought." He is inclined to believe that a very great deal of liquor is consumed and that there is not a great reduction in the amount used over the prohibition period.

"Dr. White" says that he was called in professionally several times a year to give aid to people who had been drinking bootleg stuff. In every case the patients were so far gone that either they had died in his care or at the City Hospital. He said he saw no medical results of bootleg liquor other than the cases of poisoning above mentioned. As far as his own observation went there has been no increase in the typical alcoholic diseases.

"Dr. Black" says: "I am of the opinion that liquor is more easy to secure and that the price is lower. Women, I think, drink for the effect of alcohol and get themselves in worse shape than men. Some of them will drink a half to three-quarters of a tumblerful at one time and then because they do not feel almost immediate effects will take another dose. The results are often disastrous. There is a very great dread of Ward —— at the —— Hospital because of the practice of the hospital of using the stomach pump. This was greatly dreaded, with the result that the average man or woman always tried to get a doctor to treat them."

"Dr. Rose," head of an institution devoted to the treatment of inebriety and its results, "is not only skeptical of the results of prohibition, but feels that we have already begun to slide below where we stood in pre-prohibition times. According to him, when the prohibition law went

into effect the immediate result was a heavy decrease in admissions. At the end of the third year, 1920, admissions had dropped from 1,053 in 1917 to 410. Since 1920 the number of cases has increased, until in 1926 they promised to reach the highest point in the history of the institution. Probably the intake will be over 1,400. In view of the fact that the trustees in 1920 considered whether they ought to close the Home, the results of the past six years are interesting. According to 'Dr. Rose,' the type of admission is very markedly changed. In the period before 1920, admissions had been almost altogether from the professional and business classes. Since 1920 this group no longer comes to the Home. Admissions today are made up for the most part from the artisan class. According to 'Dr. Rose' the most striking fact about the group is that they are the beer drinkers who have changed to bootleg liquor. They are in bad physical condition when they reach the Home. The majority are brought by their wives and the average story is the man used to get drunk on Saturday night and kept for the most part sober during the week. Under present conditions the spree lasts longer and wholly incapacitates for work. Men who are gripped by the bootleg liquor seem to get themselves in such shape that they are unable to hold a job at all. They are brought to the Home on account of the economic stress of the family. The nationality of the present group is chiefly Irish, though there is a sprinkling of Americans and some of the other immigrant nationalities. The Jews seem to be becoming victims of bootleg liquor. Under the old days there had been no patients from this race." "Dr. Rose" was of the opinion that the physical condition of the present-day

type of drinker is worse than that of the patients they used to receive.

Two lodging-house keepers testify to the tippling that goes on by people privately in their rooms, a tippling which seems to have little result in either disorder or health.

Mr. Thomas O'Neill is a man who lives in the neighborhood of South End House and there is no piratical interest nor dramatic adventure for him in the way that alcohol gets to the consumer. He very effectively takes the wind of romance out of the sails of the rum-running fleet. The fleet might very well be in itself an advertising campaign or a camouflaging gesture.

Mr. O'Neill spoke of one wholesale bootlegger in the South End who does a very large trade. His equipment consists of a supply of alcohol, not denatured, which is obtained from the —— Distillery. His theory is that the distillery produces its full legal quota for being denatured in an eight-hour working day and then operates overtime and sells this product to the bootleg trade. The government inspector is said to be paid to neglect this aspect of the situation. Four gallons of pure alcohol are diluted with three times their bulk of water, so that a kind of 25 per cent alcohol is prepared. There is on hand a very large assortment of flavoring extracts, and products approximating the look of any particular brand of liquor are made. These are packed in bottles of the well-known English and foreign brands of liquor, fitted out with foreign labels and all the necessary stamps. There are certain printers who make a business of supplying labels and government stamps which are sufficiently accurate to pass with any purchaser. These are then packed in straw and old sodden boxes so as to

bear all the earmarks of having been landed offshore. A very large business is done in this kind of liquor, and according to Mr. O'Neill, who saw the process, this brewer considers himself a wholesaler in that he handles only case lots. This is the general method of manufacture at the present time and there is almost no liquor coming into the country, either from the sea or from Canada. Mr. O'Neill believes the days of large profits in bootleg stuff have passed. The competition is now very keen and the number of people engaged in the business is so great as to cut down the excessive returns. While stuff prepared as above, when retailed in bottles with labels brings seven dollars a quart, exactly the same kind of liquor sells around the neighborhood for three dollars a quart. Such liquor, however, is in ordinary round bottles or even in milk bottles. He cited some of the ways used to sell liquor in the ordinary store. Poole's Place was raided a considerable number of times before it was finally discovered that his stock was on the shelves in bluing bottles. Poole, after repeated raids, has now retired from the bootleg business in favor of real estate. He had a number of instances of liquor being bought in generous quantities by Back Bay people who apparently are now purchasing the kind of stuff made by the wholesaler instanced above. All kinds of manufactured tales of the seepage of liquor through the coast guard and life-saving stations and other such places are passed about in order to make the fabricated bottle stuff appear to be real.

Miss Ethel W. Dougherty of Roxbury Neighborhood House finds drinking among minors the most serious manifestation of all. It has been her experience that drinking among young girls has greatly increased and

that very young boys in bootlegging families smuggle some of their father's "stuff" and treat their friends. The mothers' clubs in this neighborhood would not go back to pre-prohibition conditions. At the time of the passage of the amendment they were keen for it, but many of them feel now that things are just about as bad as they can be and they favor modification with control through some such medium as the family grocery store. When interrogated in detail, these neighborhood women said that they would not vote for a bootlegger or a habitual drunkard at an election, but they would cast a ballot for one who made his own home brew, or for an occasional drunkard, or a total abstainer, or a law enforcer.

"Most people have had a decided change of view since prohibition actually came into effect," Miss Dougherty avers. "They feel that it needs sufficient modification to make it possible to have it observed as a law. One of the oldest members of the settlement had a substantial sum offered him by a bootlegger neighbor for the use of his attic as a storage place during police raids."

Frederick J. Soule of Norfolk House Center finds that drinking today has become more of a dissipation and less of a social custom. There is more prosperity. Bills are paid promptly. The workingman is able to afford recreation and holidays. The family well-being is higher but drinking among the young persists. Mr. Soule points out that the church of the prevailing group in the neighborhood does not favor prohibition. It is his own personal observation that the state and local laws have not enough teeth and that federal enforcement is too technical and ponderous.

A Robert Gould Shaw district worker among the colored people reports that if one were to stand in front

of the car barns on Tremont Street, every store within sight, even the undertaking establishment, would be found selling liquor quite openly. She cites the case of a local caterer's shop which had always been tabooed by respectable people, but has now become the meeting place for young people. Another worker says the mothers complain continually that their girls of high-school age are being offered wine at the parties they attend.

Miss Barbara MacKinnon of the North Brighton Community Centre passes scathing comment on existing conditions.

"In our particular neighborhood prohibition is to my mind a complete failure and a perfect farce," she said. "The foreign groups, with the exception of the Finns and Armenians, are breaking the law day and night. As a result the children are far more unprotected than in pre-prohibition days. Drink is flowing around them and raids and drunkenness have become jokes to them. Disgusting derelicts are being admitted to the inner circle of the drink-selling home if they have the price, and often the children are the go-betweens. Consequently, there is no respect for the law and no fear of it on the part of children who are being brought up in bootlegging families. The children have pretty clothes and jewelry and perfectly understand how these luxuries come."

And yet the social workers of Boston feel that in many respects the situation is better than before the amendment was passed. There is less drunkenness in the streets, less poverty, and fewer brawls.

"It seems to me that Boston is pretty bad, Mr. Kennedy," I said. "I heard a story about it the other day, and I'd like to ask you if it's true. A man came out of

the old South Station and said to the first policeman he saw, 'Can you tell me where I can get a drink?' The officer said to him, 'You go down that street and take the first turn to the left. There is a milliner's store; it's the only ——' "

"Mrs. Bruère," said Mr. Kennedy, fixing me with a cold, stern eye, "I have heard that story eleven times."

Philadelphia, at the southern end of this chain of ports, is twice as large as Boston and a slightly more American city.

Every questionnaire on prohibition which the National Federation of Settlements tossed into Philadelphia seemed to fall with a splash.

When I read the eleven reports from the City of Brotherly Love for the first time, I felt that there was nothing so wet as this. When I reread them again, I realized that pre-prohibition times must have been far wetter than the present. When I reread them for the third time, the rather spectacular wetness had subsided and the path along which the city is traveling toward prohibition began to rise above the flood.

That path the social workers feel is made exceedingly difficult because public officials are not enforcing prohibition. In no other city do the reports show such unanimous condemnation of those appointed to uphold the law. For perfectly obvious reasons, I am not going to give names or localities in connection with these criticisms, but here are some of the things that the reports say:

"Violators are politically protected by weekly bribes, so-called hush money, that is regularly paid to a collector. Where raids are made it is as a punishment for nonpayment of bribes."

"Although prohibition cannot be enforced in Philadelphia with the present political and police situation, the prevailing belief is that the Volstead Act should not be repealed if it works in the majority of the states of the Union."

"Why should we report violators if paid prohibition officers whose duty it is are open to bribes and protection?"

"Bootlegging here is widespread, police coöperation impossible to get. One bootlegger has been raided nineteen times; he still continues."

"Violators of the law are absolutely protected not only by political bosses, but by the police. The police themselves frequent bootleggers and one of the ward leaders is a bootlegger."

"The purveying of liquor is essentially a lawless occupation. When we raise a smoke screen of law between ourselves and it we give cards and spades to the lawbreaker and then try to beat him. The liquor industry is essentially a bootlegging industry, essentially part of prostitution, vice, and gambling."

"The violators are politically protected by the police officers."

"The enforcement of prohibition is hindered by politicians and police. Bootlegging is so openly practiced and protected that liquor is easily available to all who seek it."

One report states that "saloons and bootleggers are tipped off by agents of the law when a raid is due, and the police go so far as to break in on christenings and weddings among the ignorant to obtain bribes."

"The grip of the paid politicians, instead of being weakened by the elimination of the saloon, has in reality

been strengthened by the protection offered by him through the medium of graft and corruption."

There is no use going on with the quotations; there are plenty more.

How wet was Philadelphia when the Eighteenth Amendment got there?

Miss Jean W. Colesbury of St. Martha's House says: "The streets were often full of reeling men, young or older, on Saturdays from noon to midnight, and little children lay on saloon steps looking in under the doors at the carousing within. Also, we remember many times when boys followed drunken men who either handed out money to them freely—rolls of dollars in some cases—or fell down and could be easily robbed."

Mrs. Robert Bradford, who has lived in the Light-house for more than thirty years, says of this pre-prohibition time: "The wage earners of this neighborhood were immigrants of the 'seventies and 'eighties, chiefly weavers from the great textile centers of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who had come suddenly from small pay in the old country to comparatively big pay in the new land and had been habitual drinkers from childhood. Their small two-story houses, often without gas, without water, without sewer drainage, without heat but for the small grate fire, stretched without variety along miles of right-angle streets. At the end of the streets, large and small, and in their midst, stood the saloons. Up and down the narrowest and dreariest ways were the speak-easies where drink was sold over week-ends and on holidays when the saloons were closed. The speak-easies were the saloons' annexes, provided directly from the brewer and distiller to gather in on Sunday whatever was left of the pay envelope on Saturday night.

"I wish that we might blot out forever the purely sentimental picture of the drunken husband at the saloon bar and the pious wife at home on her knees or seated in despair at her empty table with grief-stricken children clinging to her. It is false to assume that women do not share the moral standards of their country, their class, and their neighborhood. The men drank at night and the women drank by day, gathering in this one's and that one's kitchen, supplied from the corner saloon where they carried their kettles. When too drunk to navigate thither themselves they sent the children as their messengers, who received their share on their return. I have known the wage earner to stand all day at his work fortified by the wife's solemn promises that the money left for the rent agent and for the food supply for the week should be spent for these purposes, only to return from a hard day in the mill to find the fire out, the table bare, but for the empty beer kettle or whisky flask and the money left with the wife in the morning reckoned in the day's receipts by the saloon keeper at the corner. This situation was often aggravated by the pawning of furniture and necessary clothing and the wife in a state of drunken stupor.

"Some members of the men's club kept their good clothes—their 'Sunday blacks'—in some closet in the settlement building put at their service for this purpose. A man was reduced to take this step only after long, long experience in finding his closet at home empty and the pawn ticket for his clothes in his wife's pocket.

"Through these channels into one immense pocket, the pocket of the big brewer and distiller, passed the hard-earned wages of the week. When the day of great dis-

aster came, no savings fund held the wherewithal to counter the blow.

"From the first, the Lighthouse has been known as friendly to the drinker, and drunken neighbors prone to take too much were our constant visitors. At pretty much all hours the matter of entering and settling into an easy-chair met with no hindrance. All the house has spent many hours receiving these social calls. Among the changes wrought by prohibition is the almost complete passing from our living room of the neighbors who always remembered to visit us when drunk. In 1918 we missed one of these regular visitors. Six years passed and we could not learn what had become of her. In 1924 she returned and told us herself that she had not been back because she had been sober.

"When Prohibition became law in 1918 the immediate effect upon this great industrial neighborhood was one of almost stunned surprise, as great on the part of those who felt the change would mean personal and financial disaster as on the part of those who welcomed the law. There was, however, immediate acquiescence from all. The United States government had spoken. There could be no successful resistance to that august authority. Saloons closed their doors and did not then open up their back doors and kitchens for sales. The Saturday and Monday morning turnover in the mills diminished to a point astonishing to the partisans of both sides. No longer did the sober worker reporting on those days for his job find himself without work because the chum on whom his work depended had failed to come in.

"Up to this time special Saturday evening entertainments had been offered by the Lighthouse Men's Club to men alone, because members said that men who had

been drinking would shun the company of women when meetings were held in orderly surroundings. Where men were sure to find only men the necessity 'to clean up and dress up' was not felt. Twice a year the conscience of the committee was always stirred 'to invite the ladies,' and regularly on these occasions the usual Saturday evening crowd stayed away and the only men present were the committee members themselves.

"Prohibition at once made a new kind of entertainment necessary. The men said: 'We must provide something for all the family, for men are now going out with their wives.'

"During the panic of 1914-15 the Lighthouse was intrusted with money to be spent in employing married men. About 150 were on the pay roll. They were anxious enough to earn their children's bread, but many a man appeared late on Monday morning, many a wife came to ask for extra relief because her husband had taken some of his pay for drink.

"In 1922 another period of unemployment made the same sort of relief work necessary, but this time it was found that those who applied for it had lived, sometimes for many weeks, on their own savings before being driven to seek help. The relief work was carried on from November to May. There were many difficulties to be met, but sober men reported for work on Mondays and collected their pay on Saturday nights.

"A leading business man said: 'During the panic of 1922 this neighborhood would not have passed through this time of suffering without serious riots if we had not had prohibition.'

"In a conference a few days ago with workingmen

whose ages ranged from twenty plus to sixty plus the following comments were made:

"'It is the greatest thing that has happened to working people.'

"'The average workingman comes to his work since prohibition as bright on Monday morning as he left it Saturday noon.'

"'I remember when I was the only man on the row on Monday mornings. There was more in the saloon than there was at the work. It would be about Wednesday before we got started to work.'

"At a meeting of the leaders of the Women's and Girls' Club held this autumn, after much discussion of the neighborhood situation as regards prohibition, the opinion of the whole group was expressed as follows:

"In spite of the failure adequately to enforce the prohibition law the community is immensely better off under prohibition, than it was in pre-prohibition days. The law should be enforced and strengthened where it is found to be weak, as in its inability to deal with shops exposing in show windows, and selling equipment for making home brew. This is an incitement to lawlessness.

"Leading employers and bank officials of this neighborhood are one with the settlement in its conclusions about prohibition. The principal of the nearest public school says: 'I did not think of it until six months after prohibition, but suddenly I noticed that children were no longer out of school for lack of shoes. The former constant requests for shoes had vanished as if by magic and I said to my teachers, "This is prohibition." ' The nearest real-estate agent says: 'Prohibition is a farce, but it's true my collectors don't meet people drunk in

their homes any more. They don't pay the rent any better, but their excuse isn't drink—it's "I had to buy an automobile tire last week." ' Another real-estate agent tells of the bootlegger across the street from the office who has been raided and released many times, and then adds: 'But the steady procession of adults and children carrying jugs and kettles and every other kind of vessel past this door and down the street for whisky and beer has disappeared completely.'

"The day nurseries exist to keep home intact, but in the history of our nursery again and again the day came when we could no longer give our children into the hands of their drinking mothers. Children still were and are placed with us on account of a father's drinking, but not once during the period from 1918 to 1923 did a mother come for her children under the influence of alcohol. In 1926 the percentage of children placed in the nursery because of complications arising from drink has dropped from 33 per cent plus to 14 per cent.

"It is a post-prohibition fact, recognized and lamented by all, that minors have not ceased to drink since the law went into effect. It is also lamented by those in a position to know that they drank in pre-prohibition days. A saloon not far from the Lighthouse was raided before prohibition and the crowd of minors found drinking there at that time was taken into custody. Among them was a lad of sixteen. He and his family were our neighbors and friends. The father and mother were unaware of what had occurred. The boy went alone to appear before the License Court. Standing in the dock, he told the truth about the place, stating how often he had been there and had bought strong drink which he drank at the bar with others of his age. On hearing the lad's

testimony the judge decided that he could not receive it without the father's corroboration. The boy told the whole matter at home. The next day the father appeared in court with him and said that he knew the boy to be reliable in any statements he would make and felt confident that he was speaking the truth. The court dismissed the case. The saloonkeeper returned to his business.

"Pre-prohibition days in connection with the life of the girlhood and boyhood around us at the Lighthouse rise before me in pictures. The first is of bright Memorial Days. From early morning, almost with the sunrise, on till noon, I see the passing of a procession of wagons—milk wagons, grocery wagons, any wagons that could be obtained—decorated with gay red, white, and blue material. They were equipped with benches and filled with girls and boys in their 'teens, each wearing a cap of the same color and design. In each wagon was a keg of beer. They were off for an all-day picnic to carouse till night, when they would return with an empty keg.

"I want to add my testimony as to the manner of men and women who made and kept together by bitter struggle these homes to which I had such open access day and night and in whose sorrows and joys I have shared through over thirty years. They are men and women of ability and worth, generous, able, cherishing high ideals, nursing longings for better things in the darkest hours of their drinking days. Many among them have moved of late years into homes of their own, electrically equipped, attractively furnished, provided with victrolas and radios—homes in which the art of hospitality is constantly practiced. These families have passed into years in which summer vacations spent in their own country

cottages are not unknown. And I believe that the sum of all the failures of prohibition does not offset the sum of its benefits."

The report from Miss Dorothy Mueller, head worker of Webster House, shows an even more specialized neighborhood than the Lighthouse. The people here are solidly Irish-American and, like the neighborhood of the Lighthouse, a stable population.

"I have talked with many neighborhood men and women who have lived on the same street for many years. Two families now boast a fourth generation in the same district." Of the pre-prohibition days Miss Mueller says: "Alcohol evidently was a minor cause of poverty. Of course, to the Irish-American, alcohol adds much to the lively discussion of neighborhood and civic affairs. By alcohol, I mean beer, as the men tell me that whisky was not consumed in large quantities then, as it is now. The women say they always knew where to find their husbands, and that the habitual drunkards hung around the saloon. Now, they wander all about the streets and alleys and with the large percentage of bootleggers in this particular district, they are, of course, harder to locate. It was impossible for fifteen- or sixteen-year-old girls and boys to drink as they do now." Immediately after the passage of the amendment, social workers and family case workers reported less relief given in homes, owing to higher wages and steady employment. Families began to own their own homes. During this period, piano players, victrolas, and other luxuries evidenced increasing prosperity.

But that does not hold for the present. "I know at least thirty bootleggers who live within a radius of two blocks from the old Webster House," writes Miss Muel-

ler. "I believe poverty in our particular district is much more dependent on alcohol than on the industrial situation. More married women go to work, as husbands who never drank more than beer before prohibition are now becoming habitual drinkers of bootleggers' products. Many young people, boys and girls as young as fifteen, are drinking. I know several women bootleggers who encourage them by inviting them to 'house parties' and selling drinks to them. However, there are many fine young people among our group who steadfastly refuse to associate with the drinking crowd."

Practically the same word comes from Miss M. M. Adams, of Southwark Neighborhood House, in an Irish-American neighborhood, with Polish and Lithuanian additions. It was not drink that made them poor before the amendment, but loss of work and shiftlessness. "The men had a congenial meeting place where they enjoyed their glass of beer during the lunch period or after the day's work. When one considers the millions of visits paid to the saloon by a definite group, the number of drunks would be proportionately very small. Immediately following the war, wages were still high and employment fairly steady. The price of liquor went up, but good liquor was still available. The consumption was diminished due more to price than to any other factor."

And then came the time when those who wished to sell liquor had balanced fines against profits and decided that lawbreaking was worth the chance. People became skillful in making their own and bootlegging grew to a profession. "There is widespread bootlegging and illicit manufacture," says Miss Adams. "This statement is based not on belief, but on knowledge of their move-

ments, associations, actual observation, common report by the neighbors and friends. In the last few years several still explosions have occurred. The number of stupefied drunks has increased. It is almost impossible to conduct a dance in a neighborhood house because of the hip flasks 'smuggled' in. Strict adherence to the rules of the settlement house makes it unprofitable for any organization to conduct a dance. Conditions in this respect have improved during the last two years. Moonshine is made in smaller quantities by the housewives and the raw liquor frequently sampled and consumed shortly afterward. Children frequently have access to it. Young boys can buy half pints and pints from fifty cents to one dollar. Hold-ups and robberies have very markedly increased in number and daring. The gang spirit has increased and the law of the gang has been strengthened and made more sacred than the law of the land. The political significance is that the grip of the paid politician, instead of being weakened by the elimination of the saloon, has in reality been strengthened by the protection which is offered by him through the medium of graft and corruption."

Miss Anna F. Davies of the College Settlement says: "Children used to find amusement in watching the doors of saloons and baiting drunks as they came out. This no longer happens. The appearance of drunks from private homes where a great deal of drinking is done is too uncertain and irregular to make good and steady hunting."

It is things like these that stand out in a first reading of the Philadelphia reports. They are undoubtedly true, but there are quite different and equally true statements to set against them.

The questionnaire from the College Settlement quotes a physician: "There is not much change in diseases since prohibition, but a marked change in Saturday night alcoholics in the hospitals. They used to come in in considerable numbers, knocked out by the drink they could not stand. We put on rubber boots, set the stomach pump going, and pumped them out regardless, washed out their stomachs, gave them aromatic spirits of ammonia, and they could walk out sober. Maybe in two or three hours they would be back again for the same treatment—but they could go to work on Monday or Tuesday. That program is no longer on for Saturday nights. Not nearly so many come, but if a man has to be treated for alcoholism he is poisoned and may be in bed for a week or two."

The prevailing opinion in the neighborhood is that Italian and Jewish young people prefer tea, coffee, and water to wine at meals. The opinion has been expressed repeatedly that it is "only the older people who make wine. The young married people do not bother with it.

"At a Jewish wedding in November, at which seventy-five, mostly young people, were present, the bride's mother provided three pints of whisky of which one and one-half pints were left, two gallons of wine more than half of which was left, four boxes of home-brewed beer, of which two boxes and nine bottles were left, and eight boxes of soda water of which none was left and more was needed. The whisky on this occasion was indulged in by the older people only, and few of the younger people touched the wine."

Referring to Philadelphia's loss of General Butler—and many have mentioned it—a neighborhood woman

remarked, "It looks like if a person is too good or too honest in Philadelphia, he doesn't exist long."

A school-attendance officer who works in a Polish neighborhood near the river front believes that in spite of bootlegging, conditions are far better than in the old saloon days. Fewer children are out of school; they are better clothed and fed; they have much better homes.

The principal of a public school says: "I was principal in the days of the saloons and am a principal now, and I can say that the general condition of the children is 100 per cent better; I was going to say 200 per cent. They are better fed and clothed and I am not having to provide shoes as I used to do; they buy their own shoes.

"I believe that the tendency of children of foreign-born parents is to drink water or milk or cocoa instead of wine. If the fathers didn't hold on to the old-country custom of wine with meals, the mothers wouldn't serve it."

One Jewish woman thinks we should have the saloons back. "You know in the old days if Mr. Solomon went into a saloon for a drink the next day people wouldn't be calling him Mr. Solomon; they would be calling him Abie. He wouldn't be anybody because he had been in drinking with a lot of bums."

The supervisor of a city playground says: "Despite the politicians and the police, there is no question that prohibition has already accomplished great good."

A neighboring shoemaker says: "Of course there is less drinking; it costs too much. Certainly prohibition has made it better for everybody. I think the workingman ought to have a chance to buy a good glass of beer for five cents, though."

Another public-school principal in an Italian neigh-

borhood says: "Despite Philadelphia's lamentable politics, prohibition is doing remarkably well."

But balancing against this is the statement of Miss Helen Hall, the head worker of University House: "The almost unanimous feeling in the neighborhood that the present is so much worse than the past, makes me feel that perhaps some of the horrors of the past have dimmed with time and that present evils must always loom largest. One has to remember, too, that we are in the most politically powerful ward in the city. Watching the results of prohibition from an Irish-American neighborhood has made me realize what a first-class breeder of crime the prohibition law can be. One reason my neighbors feel so bitter about the present situation is, I think, that it is so painful to watch the lawbreaking neighbors grow rich. The prosperity of the wrongdoer has seldom been so aggravatingly apparent. The saloonkeeper, they feel, was at least paying for a license and doing a legitimate business, however harmful the result to his customers."

Mrs. Bradford says of the Lighthouse neighborhood: "Every spring before 1918 with the coming of the first warm days, a crowd of eager children, most of them dirty and unkempt, often barefooted, trooped up the steps of the Neighborhood House to ask for 'the free country.' The Lighthouse found summer outings for an average of 430 individuals every summer. Today the eager stream is gone. Parents often come to make applications for their children, but desire, if possible, to pay some board for them, themselves. Instead of 388 a year as from 1917-18, an average of only 192 has depended on the Lighthouse for summer outings during the period from 1920 to 1926."

From the Deaconess Settlement in a working-class neighborhood of about 90,000 people comes the report: "The law is still broken—every law is. It is also enforced—but broken again so soon that one not familiar with the places could discern little difference. But *we* note many empty stores, many new and decent eating houses where illegal business was formerly carried on at all hours. We also note that the majority of the men under the influence of the poison liquor are the lodging-house occupants, widowed or single, whose years of usefulness are practically over. Comparatively few young people and women are now seen reeling on the streets. As we enter the homes we find much less habitual drunkenness, with its accompanying poverty and distress."

Then, again, comes one of the girls in the University House Club, speaking for youth. One girl of twenty-eight said that "the boys were beginning to quit drinking and it was silly to expect to do everything in a minute. As far as she was concerned, she knew it was better than when she was a little girl."

From a curious source comes a report of changed conditions. "Prohibition," writes a manufacturer of insecticides in Pennsylvania, "viewed in the light of the decreased Saturday night tenancy of our country jails, makes my business still more serious.

"According to Officer Scanlon, 'We used to cram eleven drunks into cell number 1 and there might be anywhere from six to twenty more in the other five cells. The "ladies' cell" usually held from one to three. Now we rarely see a Saturday night drunk. Our drunks used to bring with them a pretty lively bunch of "cooties" and we had to use lots of your insecticides. We don't need *any*

these days because both our boarders and their boarders are scarce.'

"So little use has the Police Department of ——ville for the stuff that the insecticide drum is being used for target practice in the cell-room."

So that is what it's like in Philadelphia, which is a far more American-born city than Boston or New York, almost as solidly so as San Francisco. The reports of the social workers show it to be wet, but not so wet as it was before prohibition.

Wilmington, on the way to New York, seems perpetually overwhelmed with industrialism, and the business of being a port, and the memory of the great wartime shipbuilding. Miss Sarah W. Pyle, of the People's Settlement Association, writes that the majority of the members in their women's club felt "that conditions were decidedly improved and when members of the club were asked to voice an opinion as to whether the situation would be improved by having the saloons back again and things as they were before prohibition went into effect, the result was a unanimous vote to the contrary.

"We feel decidedly that prohibition has raised the neighborhood standard and that our families are better cared for and protected at the present time than before the act went into effect. We have had no disturbances during the evening on the playground of the kind that we did in the days when the saloons were open and various gangs came in at night under the influence of liquor."

In New York City the problems of the other Atlantic ports are not only intensified, but are much harder to analyze. And this because it is impossible to dissect out any one part of the huge, inchoate mass as a scien-

tist dissects out the eye of a fish and looks at it in the isolation of a microscope. Each section is part of all the places with which it is connected by bridge and ferry, motor 'bus and commuters' train, subway and elevated—with Brooklyn, Staten Island, Westchester County, Jersey City, Newark and the Oranges; yes, and with the Atlantic that crowds hungrily up the bay. To cut any one out of this setting is to denature it. But it is too big to look at all at once—the largest and richest metropolitan area in the world. The twenty-five reports we have from Manhattan, the eight from Brooklyn, the four from Jersey City, the four from Newark, the one from a New Jersey suburb, leave great sections untouched. Only three of all these reports even mention Americans. There is no settlement in an American neighborhood. The New York of the social workers is a foreign city. Its drink problem is the problem of Europeans, Asiatics, and Africans who have come under a law enacted by a different people.

Now, whatever the Eighteenth Amendment did not do, it destroyed the saloon as a recognized, legalized factor in the community. When it went into effect the New York of the social workers lost something it had been immemorially used to. It was like taking the saloons out of Warsaw and Dublin, out of Moscow and Berlin and Naples all at once. The settlements in every part of the city testify to the fact that for the first few years the amendment was reasonably observed. War discipline had trained people to obedience; the machinery for illicit manufacture and distribution had not been developed; and until the repeal of the Mullen-Gage law state enforcement was expected to back up the federal of-

ficials. What is the present situation? How is it working now?

The largest race group is Jewish. Jews from Russia, Rumania and Poland, Jews from Austria and Germany, from Spain and Portugal, Oriental Jews who have never touched European civilization—over a million of them, all with the traditional use of sacramental wine and all with the race habit of sobriety.

The testimony of the seven settlements in Jewish neighborhoods is that their old men have not taken to drugs nor their young men to drunkenness; that the increasing prosperity and health among them is due more to high wages, steady employment, health education, and public health nursing than to the Eighteenth Amendment.

Head workers say: "I have found very little difficulty with the alcohol question . . . they are very sober and good citizens. . . . A few manufacture sacramental wines. There is no flagrant violation of the prohibition law. . . ."

On the lower East Side is the Henry Street Settlement of which Lillian D. Wald is head resident. It is the center of the most typically Jewish neighborhood in the city. It is a tenement-house region where the old style dumb-bell tenement still prevails, four families to the floor, twenty families to the house; in one block, 2,000 or 3,000 children, and occasionally more. The street is the playground of children who are more beautiful when very young than the children in other parts of the city.

When school is dismissed—and the single school occasionally holds more than 4,000 lads and little girls—the children pour out from the schools. Home from work the stream is greater, soberer. One wonders that even four families on a floor, twenty families to the house,

can take care of them all. They overflow from sidewalks to streets, crowded roads, crowded cars, hardly standing room for any.

No drinkers, these, but accustomed to wine in their home, for the sacrament and the family celebrations, the birth, the confirmation, the betrothal, the wedding, the Sabbath, and all the holy days. To these people the Eighteenth Amendment has meant little, even to the Americanized children, who have not been brought up under the influence of excesses in drink.

The report made by Miss Jennie Haxton for the Henry Street Settlement says the older residents see little change in conditions since the passage of the Volstead Act. Although there is no visible change, there is the undesirable feature of illicit trading, and in trying to present a picture of things as they are we must remember that there is much excited talk about bootleggers; but upon the earnest following up of the rumor little can be substantiated, only hearsay evidence and generalization. There was excitement in the block four or five streets from the main house because of the startling appearance and reappearance of a beautiful limousine filled with Italian men, and as the car was, of course, far too grand to belong to a worker in that part of the city, everybody knew it was a bootlegger's car; but it proved to be the property of a local undertaker, rented for funerals!

New residents in the settlement who cannot remember the pre-Volstead period sometimes report that they have seen drunken men, but it may be one person a week, or perhaps the same person seen by two residents, which sight in the memory of the older people is no problem at all.

There is talk of speak-easies, and if this were not in-

vestigated the impression would be left that they are to be found on every corner. Challenged to locate them, the residents were able to direct attention to three. Two were closed at eleven o'clock in the evening. The other, bearing a sign, "Herrings and Other Fish," was also closed, but a sliding door panel gave those on the inside a chance to inspect the applicant for admission.

"Of course they wouldn't let you in unless they knew you," said a boy who looked on.

Nevertheless there is secret trading.

"It is bad," said a neighborhood woman. "My husband always had wine but never got drunk. He is very gentle and always good to me. But one night since prohibition he came home drunk and tried to kill me and the children. He was crazy. When he got over it he said, 'I will not drink the poison any more, for I might kill my children.' So now I buy it for him—good stuff that does not make him crazy."

But she is one woman as against many women who say, "We have wine for the holidays, yes. My husband don't drink. There is no difference now. Just like before prohibition."

One place in the neighborhood was notorious and the women brought their complaints to the settlement. Their husbands got liquor there and it was evident that people from out of the district came there for their drinks. It was the one place operating flagrantly and openly. The settlement succeeded in having it driven from one corner, only to find that the man was doing business near the old stand. The responsible men were put under arrest and since this report was begun the place has been padlocked.

Among the young men there is much boasting that

"Every one carries a flask," but there is little evidence of the fact. Some boys did say they had taken a flask from a drunken man and had gone into a hallway to drink its contents.

We have had no trouble at the settlement dances nor at the dances held during the summer on the roof of the Playhouse, which are attended by people of the neighborhood and their friends, as well as by our own club members. There has been no single case of drinking or disorder. The difficulty of substantiating evidence about drink was again proven when a group of our older boys gave a dance in a hotel uptown. The residents present saw no one under the influence of liquor but, later, it was reported that there was drunkenness. Upon carefully sifting down to the facts, it was found that some fellows who came in late smelled of liquor and had something with them. In most cases the policy of following down the rumors about bootlegging, flask carrying, and drunkenness has not substantiated them.

Miss Lillian D. Wald, the head resident of the Henry Street Settlement, says that the standard of family life has been raised through the prohibition act, which she regards as of the greatest social importance. The trucks standing in front of the saloons on Saturday night, often waiting there half the night, have entirely disappeared. Very few problems now come to the house because of drink.

A few blocks from the Henry Street Settlement is Madison House. Miss Helen Alfred, head resident until last August, writes me: "Never has drink directly affected the families in the neighborhood. . . .Bootlegging is the greatest problem. There is undoubtedly a very heavy traffic in illicit liquor. There is every reason to feel very

sure that many of the 'settlement families' are enjoying definite economic satisfaction from the manufacture and sale of 'concoctions.' In these particular families there is also obvious lower morale and a more elastic standard of conduct. I have noticed it even in the very young children. Among families where I feel sure there is no bootlegging there is a most unfortunate attitude of disrespect for the authorities who are, in varying degrees of seriousness, trying to enforce the law. In blocks immediately touching that of Madison House I have seen stills delivered and cases of liquor carried out and deposited in cars."

The question is constantly asked: "What of the young people? If they are drinking, isn't prohibition a bad thing?"

Here is testimony on that phase of the problem from Mr. Walter Leo Solomon, the head worker of the University Settlement.

"Drunkenness is no more common among our young people now than heretofore, but the young men report that in practically every home liquor of forbidden alcoholic content is both made and served; that at work, at parties and elsewhere, they are offered drinks, and that as salesmen they are expected to treat. As for reporting violations, as one young man put it, 'If you have been brought up on the East Side, you've learned to mind your own business and not get into trouble.' I should sum up the whole thing by saying that our young people do not regard violations of the prohibition law as immoral and scarcely as illegal."

The White Door Settlement on Clinton Street and the Hebrew Educational Society in Brownsville report practically the same thing.

The great Jewish city within New York is little changed by the amendment. The generation that did not drink while the saloon was a recognized part of city life is not drinking now, even with the added prosperity of this post-war period. So far the race tradition has held. But from three of the seven Jewish settlements reporting comes the statement that their neighbors are illegally manufacturing liquor and are bootlegging, and that their young people have the idea that it is smart and daring to drink and to carry a flask even though they do not use it to excess; that there is a general disrespect for law, though they do not want a return of the saloon.

Crowding the Jews on from section to section of the city comes the next largest group, the Italians. Like all Mediterranean peoples, they, too, are used to wine. It has been part of their food supply for three thousand years. Before the amendment was passed they bought it as they bought bread in this new America, as a matter of convenience. Now they make it as they would make bread if the bread shops were suddenly closed. Three estimates by social workers give the cost of materials for wine making in an ordinary Italian family as from fifty dollars to three hundred dollars every autumn. The Italians are not so abstemious as the Jews, but they are not drunkards.

The Jacob A. Riis Neighborhood Settlement stands in the midst of a changing neighborhood. Before the amendment its people were largely Irish and drink was a serious problem. With the going of the Irish and the incoming of the Jews, the problem passed temporarily. It was just before and after the amendment, and bootlegging had not yet been organized, so that for the time being the problem did not exist.

In the past two years Poles and Italians have come in and the Jews are moving on to better neighborhoods. The Polish people have brought the problem back. The Italians are the owners of the drinking dens in the neighborhood. The frequenters of these saloons are vagrant, middle-aged men who live in other parts of the city. There are, says the report, four places in the half block below Riis House where liquor is publicly sold, but where formerly from Chatham Square to City Hall there was a solid phalanx of saloons there is now an almost complete absence of them.

"Not long ago," says the report, "I told a group of senior boys I wanted to talk with them about prohibition. They insisted there was no such thing. There is nothing in our immediate neighborhood to indicate there is. In general young people think that drinking is 'the thing to do' . . . the younger boys who drink do it in a spirit of bravado, but excessive drinking is not common among the boys we know."

There are six other reports from neighborhoods with a large admixture of Italians—three in Manhattan, three in Brooklyn. Miss Martha Mixer of the Strong Place Community House in Brooklyn says that they are scarcely aware in their work that there is a drink problem. The report of Hall Memorial House, in a mixed Irish and Italian neighborhood, says that the Italians welcomed the amendment and went into the business of making wine, but that the Irish were reduced to buying vile stuff by the bottle and drinking it in the street. In spite of this, drinking is not so prevalent as it used to be. They say that conditions among their young people are better and flasks have disappeared, the temporary protest is spent and the club dances have reformed themselves.

Mr. W. E. Davenport, secretary of the Italian Settlement of Brooklyn, which has a large Italian contingent, also sums up the situation: "This area contains ninety blocks, of which forty are mainly occupied by factories. The population of our district exceeds 20,000. Nine-tenths of our total male residents are factory hands. In a section so strongly industrial one might expect the speak-easy to flourish and we have some sixty determinable resorts of this type. Wine presses are found in twenty back yards, and in our Italian section much wine is dispensed from the basements of a few houses, passing from family to family for private use. Fifteen of our old saloons, now scarcely distinguishable from the newer speak-easies, still exist. Few of these places are outwardly attractive and they enjoy but a fraction of their former patronage. Their windows are heavily curtained and their entrances commonly fastened on the inside. Today, however, the illicit trade in liquor, except in a few well-placed saloons, is not what it was. The small saloon, even in our busier streets, but slightly interests the progressive factory hand or business man. The speak-easies reach unattached men and older men whose addiction to liquor is strong and constitutes one of their few remaining pleasures. The saloon or the speak-easy finds an unfailing opponent in the great industrial plants where the demand for efficiency develops habits of attention, activity and self-control as well as an appreciation of the necessity for personal hygiene. . . . Total abstinence among Italians, Lithuanians, and Greeks is still a counsel of perfection which we cannot expect to find realized in our time, even if we would. Our federal legislation has not changed the habits of an important section of our community made up in part

of citizens once entirely law-abiding and still worthy of regard and personal appreciation, even while they fail to sustain the law of our land."

From the Church of the Sea and Land, from Judson Neighborhood House, and from Harlem House came accounts of neighborhoods making their own wine and neither understanding the point of the Volstead law nor having any sense of lawlessness in breaking it.

But the New York City of the social workers is not all Irish or Jewish or Italian. There is the great group of unspecialized neighborhoods—a little of this and a little of that. From them comes the universal testimony as to the increased prosperity due largely to economic conditions, to the prevalence of bootlegging and illicit manufacture, though not for drunkenness, to increasing lawlessness and crime though probably not due to alcohol, and grave doubts as to whether even if the young people are drinking it is anything more than a passing gesture of bravado. The law, they feel, is not immediately enforceable in a foreign neighborhood. They all bring out in different ways what the Rev. William N. Hubbell, who has been a religious and social worker below Fourteenth Street continuously since 1906, says:

"The foreigner coming to America is greeted by a materialistic attitude on every hand. From the government down to the business man on the block there is talk of the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and a certain glorying in its evasion. I have been told over and over again that the foreigner, noticing that the well-to-do American breaks the Eighteenth Amendment by buying wines from foreigners, argues that he, the foreigner, may also break the law by stealing from the rich American. What incentive has the man, unappreciative of Amer-

ica's traditions and laws, to deny himself for the sake of the weak and for the sake of the constitution?"

Fronting the west windows of New York City is Jersey City—a two-story city where the foreigners, the poor, the workers, the unskilled live on the lower level in what is known as Gamin Town, a little Warsaw. Long stretches of ugly monotonous streets, flanked by blank red-brick tenements with never a break in the uniformity. Dirty wharves black with smoke from a thousand snub-nosed tugs and wide-buttocked ferries. Dirty stores with flyspecked goods. A huge foreign population. Stills everywhere, bootleg whisky, bootleg gin and wine sold openly, secretly, defiantly, surreptitiously; sold in bulk, in glass, in package; sold from groceries, from express offices, from notion stores, from saloons and speak-easies.

Down in Gamin Town, Whittier House has been the Settlement Center for a long time. Mr. Nels Anderson, the new head resident, has asked friends who formerly lived in the neighborhood about the situation. They say that the general well-being is not much changed, though there is bootlegging everywhere. The poverty is not because of alcohol. Boys and girls, both of school age, have learned to carry flasks. They say, "It's the sporting thing to do."

Once Jersey City had saloons—now it has hundreds of speak-easies, blind pigs, stills, presses, booze recipes, flasks—deceit, drunkenness, and crookedness.

Because Jersey City is overshadowed by New York and goes there for color, life, and stimulus, because people's business, friendships, allegiances are across the Hudson, the city is a part of New York. And the experience

of social workers outside the settlements is indispensable to this study.

There is Dr. M. W. O'Gorman, chief of Division of Child Hygiene, who is in charge of the Mothers' Institute and the twelve health centers in the public schools.

"Do your visiting nurses find much drinking in the homes?"

"Oh yes—stills. And I would say, though I am not speaking in terms of statistics, that more women are drinking than before prohibition. Formerly men drank in saloons. Now the home is the saloon."

Mr. Murray, the Poor Commissioner, has sat for eleven years in the ugly bare office of the Social Service Bureau.

"People better since prohibition? A hundred per cent worse! There are more poor than ever. Our appropriation mounts and mounts far and away ahead of population growth. Worse? Far worse! I've seen young people drinking as they never did before. I know! I visit in these homes."

Judge Thomas Meaney of the Court of Domestic Relations said: "What I say is, of course, only an opinion. Prohibition as it works out in Jersey City has produced new social evils. The young people are drinking. The social center is the road house, the dance hall. The flask has come. I see a surprising number of very young girls in this court. I do not see that breaking the law in one field makes for lawbreaking in another. People do not steal because they break the Eighteenth Amendment."

Down on the edge of Gamin Town a huge lighted bulk outlines itself against a dark sky—Colgate's! Men from Gamin Town work in Colgate's. Mr. Hulsizer, the assistant superintendent, gave us his opinion.

Things were better, conditions generally, he felt. There was Monday morning—a sober Monday now and a week's full wage Saturday night. Before prohibition there were always men laid off for lateness or absence due to the inevitable hangover. Never now. Full force Monday! The only man they had had to lay off for many, many months was an Englishman who celebrated too merrily his admittance to American citizenship. One sees drunks on the wharves, terrible drunks, drunks crazy with the kind of booze they get now—but not on every corner as we used to.

His secretary came in. She had been with Colgate's for twenty-seven years and was in charge of their pay roll.

"How do we see the effect of prohibition? In the pay line Saturday night I never see a woman now. In the days before prohibition there were always many women coming for their husbands' pay, fearing that the week's wage would be spent in the saloons before they got home. Women with shawls over their heads.

"Now you should see the women who apply even for scrubbing work—fur coats, silk stockings, little felt hats pulled down over their bobbed hair. One sees great changes in twenty-seven years."

"Is Jersey City better or worse since prohibition?" I asked the waitress in the Jersey City station.

"Arr, say," she answered, "I've been working around this depot a long time. Better! Where'd you get that idea?"

Beyond the old estuary that once filled Jersey City's back yard and is now reduced to the estate of a mere marsh lies Newark—an old city with lovely old houses and churches of Colonial days, and new factories and

department stores and public buildings. A city that would be pursuing an independent existence if it were not so tied to the apron strings of Greater New York by train and trolley and 'bus, that thousands rush there every morning and back every night. It has ships and a harbor of its own, but still it is part of the great port at the mouth of the Hudson.

The Germans have left their mark on Newark, three large picturesque breweries on one of which Gambrinus stands with Falstaffian humor holding above the dry citizens a stein of foaming beer. Poles and Italians and colored people put their mark upon the old Puritan town.

"How is prohibition working here in Newark?" I asked a man who has close knowledge of conditions in his city. For answer he wheeled around in his chair and spoke to a little pop-eyed woman who sat across the room, holding a baby in a cotton blanket, a group of miserable, sniveling children about her. With the customary obedience of the poor, she removed the blanket from the baby's head. A deep hollow lay across its blue-white skull. She pushed the shawl back from her own straggling locks. A long, matted gash on her head.

"Prohibition's a joke! That woman's husband came home drunk and hit them with a hooch bottle while they slept. Before prohibition workingmen got good booze and they'd sleep it off if they drank too much. Now the booze doesn't make them sleepy; plain crazy! And workingmen could get beer. Now they can't; they've got to buy this poison stuff."

"Is the law enforced here in Newark?"

"Sure it's enforced. We try our best, but what are you going to do with everybody making it in their homes and bootleggers paying graft—good money—to men who are

paid only thirty dollars a week to enforce the law, and the rich having all they want and judges and juries getting theirs? Prohibition's a joke."

"What of the young people? Are they safe now that we have prohibition?"

"I tell you prohibition's a joke and especially to the young people. Why, the road houses are filled with boys and girls, toting their own flasks. And the results are told in the bastardy cases, in the unmarried mothers the county takes care of, in the probation courts, in the divorces. Trouble in the high schools, too. Take your young wives! Their husbands are making good wages, skilled workers in the big shoe factories, in the building trades. Man's ,wife gets her little housework done. She doesn't have a family. Out she goes. She meets the white-collar flask sheik. He has an automobile, a flask. At night her husband is too tired to go out with her to road houses and dance. Who goes with the young wife? The flask sheik. And then the trouble begins brewing and it boils up into the courts."

"What do you think is the remedy? Enforcement?"

"Yes—*if* it can be done."

"Is prohibition enforced?" I asked a policeman.

"Prohibition? Sure it's enforced—strict! But the Poles have stills in their homes. They drink on their own premises."

"Do you arrest them?"

"You can't arrest everybody. We arrest them when the still blows up. But the Negroes give us a lot of trouble, r'aring around Saturday night. I tell you a Negro plus liquor is some problem!"

"Then you still have work here, even though there is prohibition?"

"We sure do."

A social worker talked thoughtfully of the situation in Newark.

Was there prohibition in Newark? And what were the social consequences as he saw them?

"Well"—he smiled—"prohibition hasn't been tried in Newark yet."

"Why?"

"There are many reasons. Newark is an old conservative town. It had the old drinking habits of Puritans—a bottle on the sideboard. It doesn't like changes, doesn't take kindly to reforms. The old families, fine old families of early ancestry, used liquor. They continue to do so. Newark's conservative. Foreigners make their liquor—always have, and Newark has a large foreign population working in its many factories. We are a city of a half million."

"Has prohibition prevented poverty, lessened your work?"

Here were figures; in 1923, 64 persons presented an intemperance problem; in 1926, the number had risen to 211.

"Our work is growing in spite of prohibition and every year there is an increase. Prohibition can't prevent unemployment, illness, death. Unemployment heads our list; illness is a close second."

I picked up a taxi to take me from Newark to one of the New Jersey towns. Prohibition had not been strictly enforced upon the driver and my arrival was unduly delayed.

The report from this place says:

"The community comprises all classes of society, the very wealthy and the very poor. But the bulk of popu-

lation is a huge middle, or clerical, class with incomes of from $1,500 to $3,000, and it is this class whose contact with the social workers is most direct and far-reaching.

"The prohibition amendment has wrought marked changes in many an individual family life. It has changed the tone of community life as a whole. Taking the family as a unit, it is among the extremely poor families with small children that prohibition has been of real benefit. Many of these families are Irish, and the Irishman is by temperament incurably given to treating. Now he has no saloon to go to and treat his small savings away.

"The only other group in the community that has benefited from prohibition are those who have gone into bootlegging. The bootleggers are not the only persons who make wine or distill whisky. They do not necessarily manufacture alcoholic drinks at all. They may be merely middlemen who buy it from one person to sell it to the next at a profit. Four families in the community stand out as having decidedly risen in the world through bootlegging, though there are undoubtedly more. It is probable that all four of these families belong to the same bootlegging ring, the leader of which not only bootlegs—*i.e.*, traffics in alcoholic drinks—but also manufactures, judging from the following significant little tale. In 1918 this fellow (let us call him Mr. Q.) owned and ran a small general store in a poorer section of town. Then came prohibition and by about 1924 he was building a large mansion out in the country about five miles from town, whither he and his family retired. One night the house burned down. At that time the settlement resident was ill and Q., Jr., the son of Mr. Q., a youth in his teens, came to pay her a visit. On being

questioned about the fire, he exclaimed, enthusiastically, 'Oh, you ought to have seen that house, Miss ——! It was one grand blue flame.'

"Evidently the bootlegging business can afford such little reverses, however, for Mr. Q. has now bought himself a house in one of the most exclusive residential sections of the town. Bootlegging pays.

"The number of persons who make their own wine is steadily increasing. The town librarian says that in the first days of prohibition there came a great rush for recipe books, which, when returned, were found to have such pages as contained wine recipes entirely torn out of them. This necessitated the institution of a 'barroom shelf' where all recipe books are now kept and allowed to be used only as reference books.

"The biggest problem that the amendment has brought to the settlement is that of its effect on the boys and girls from seventeen to twenty-five years old. These, with their hip flasks, U-drive cars, cheap autos, road houses, and summer camps, seem to be in the possession of some demoniac compulsion to break all bonds of restraint and control and to keep breaking them. Drinking among the young men is excessive, and the girls tag on behind. The mothers are unable to control it in their homes, and quite naturally, for there father gets his little drink, too, despite the law. One mother wanted to give a party for her sons and came to the settlement asking permission to give it there, as she knew she could not keep the boys from drinking at her home.

"It is quite customary for parties of boys and girls to go out evenings in an automobile and not come home till two or three in the morning. The girls may be as young as seventeen. When one asks the mothers what

their daughters are doing, they shrug their shoulders with a pathetic, 'I don't know.' And if they are reproached for their laxness, they say, as did one mother: 'Well, what can I do? I don't want my daughter left all alone here at home. She must go with the others.' Recently a dance was given at the settlement. Two hundred and fifty youngsters were present and the ordeal proved too trying and risky ever to be repeated again. The whole crowd came with their hip flasks and with bottles in their cars. One cannot search them at the door. No drinking is allowed on the floor, of course, but they retire to their dressing rooms to imbibe. If followed into the dressing rooms, they retreat into the toilets, in which last stronghold, of course, they are safe. The dance hall and dressing rooms are on the ground floor of the building. Standing by the upstairs rear windows, one could hear the constant crash of bottles hurtling against the back fence from out the dressing-room windows. Next morning the lawn was littered with the débris of 'dead soldiers.' As the evening progressed the vibrations of music, floor, and dancers became ever tenser and quicker, the eyes of the boys took on that unmistakable glassy, glossy look, and a state of suppressed excitement, almost frenzy, seemed to pervade the whole floor. One trembled lest at any moment some kind of riot break out. After the dance they drove off in their cars, many of them to finish out the evening in near-by road houses before going home, since our dances end at 11:30.

"It was asked in the questionnaire, 'Is the general well-being of the group higher or lower than in 1921?'

"The answer was given: 'Economically higher, morally lower,' and the behavior of these young people brings

this out to a degree. Where once lack of restraint and control was something to be ashamed of, now it is something to be deliberately cultivated.

"What are they getting out of it? At first glance it would seem so pointless, even for young people, this persistent, perpetual bibulosity of youth. The underlying motive for defying the prohibition law is identical in young and old, though it comes out in the older people in a less extreme, more subdued fashion. With all of them the pleasure of the drink itself is secondary to the pleasure and pride they manifest in the fact that they have been able to obtain it. Once they can show you that they have it, they are the bigger and better men they would like to be. The issue is one of potency, as is so much of the seemingly blind rebelliousness of youth, a proving of the personal strength and power of the individual.

"Theoretically, the law is not at fault. From the point of view of health it is admirable, for, as everyone knows, alcohol is bad for the human system. But practically, and because of its psychological implications, it has rendered conditions in family, community, and political life chaotic.

"Youth is the age *par excellence* when outlets for the testing, proving, and displaying of strength and potency are everywhere sought, when, it might almost be said, every act, thought, and situation of their lives presents itself to them in this potency phase, willy-nilly. Youth is also the age *par excellence* for rebellion, for the breaking away from supervision and authority in an attempt to establish the independent identity of the individual. When one considers these two factors, one of which is really corollary to the other, in addition to the actual and

obvious behavior reactions of the young folk to the prohibition amendment, the reason for the excessive drinking among them becomes obvious. The prohibition law through its psychological implications falls to their hands like manna in the wilderness, affording them abundant outlet for their psychic needs."

Back along the slender steel nerve that connects this New Jersey ganglion with the medulla oblongata in Manhattan, and to Hudson Guild. This settlement in the midst of a neighborhood which, as much as any other, felt drink to be a great problem. Here are longshoremen and freight handlers and truckmen; here are sailors from all over the world and the backwash that comes up the bay and down the river.

Dr. John L. Elliott, the head of Hudson Guild, sums up the situation not only for his neighborhood, but for that New York which is the social workers' city.

"Serious as the situation is as it affects crime, health, and moral standards, trying to judge as fairly and impartially as I can, there is no question that the situation in the Chelsea District is incomparably better than it was years ago. Immediately after the adoption of the Volstead Act there was a considerable period in which it was enforced. . . . The community was orderly and almost no drunken men were to be found upon the streets. This was the time before the bootlegging interests became organized. I cannot, without seeming exaggeration, state the benefits which the tenement-house people at that time enjoyed. Since that time two evils have sprung up, one less and one greater. The lesser evil is that of the local still which manufactures not only liquor, but misery, degradation, and crime. However, were the law courts and police force free to deal

with these local situations, they would not present any great difficulty. Those who do the manufacturing and those who consume it have little influence in the community. The greater evil is that of the bootlegging industry. I believe there is immense force in the statement that what prohibition today has to encounter is not the desire for personal liberty, nor the desire for freedom, nearly so much as the force of money that is on the side of breaking the prohibition law. The most serious outbreaks of shooting and the most frequent cause of assault and murder have come not from those who want liquor, but from those who wish to make money out of the liquor trade. This large organized liquor traffic, animated not by the desire for freedom or personal liberty, but simply for money, is, as I understand it, the real menace. It is this illicit trade which is supplying the vast amount of liquor to the well-to-do that makes it impossible to deal with the liquor situation.

"There are many places manufacturing and some selling liquor in the tenement houses themselves. Bad as they are, their number is vastly less than that of the old saloon. One decided difference in the kind of drinking is today noticeable. It used to be the custom to consider beer and whisky as a stimulus to work. They are today used almost exclusively as a stimulus to amusement. The drinking is not so much by working people as it was and is confined very largely to those intending to have a gay time at parties and dances or those who have become hopeless addicts. It is because drinking is used as a stimulus for pleasure and not for work that it so largely affects younger people.

"On the whole, the tenement-house districts of the neighborhood which I know, and of the city as a whole

so far as I can observe them, are unquestionably in a better condition than they were before the passage of the Volstead Act. It is true that prohibition is only one of the grounds for this better situation. As has been pointed out often, better wages, the more stringent health regulations, greater opportunities for amusement, especially athletics, are playing a great part. But to my certain knowledge, a great number of men who always stopped in at the saloon on their way home and almost emptied their pay envelopes now bring their wages home. They and their families are in better health, are living more peaceably than they did before.

"To my mind, so far as the great mass of people is concerned, the Eighteenth Amendment has justified itself. After thirty years of observing the use and abuse of alcoholic liquors, I believe it is working good even now, and that, if the law were enforced, it would be an immense blessing. The question is, Is it socially useful? I believe that it is."

The people to whom the social workers are neighbors throughout the great Atlantic port cities are not taking the prohibition law very seriously. Nowhere in their personal or race history have they had any preparation for it. It is not a law which came upon them because they felt the need for it, but because another people with a different race experience wanted it for them. Nothing could be more different than the way the fifth or sixth generation of Americans in the cities of the Northwest and the new citizens of the Atlantic ports are reacting to the law. But the fact remains that the social workers do see improved conditions even under this imperfect observance.

CHAPTER XIX

WHAT WAS FOUND OUT

THE passage of the Eighteenth Amendment through Congress was a little thing compared with its passage through our times.

This study gives merely an indication of the way the law is affecting a special group—the people in the towns and cities to whom the social workers are neighbors. It shows, primarily, trends and relations and reactions. If I could say that such and such a percentage of places report alcohol to be no longer a social problem; that in such and such a percentage conditions were improved; that in this percentage there is little change and in that things are worse—then, I should have something that the lovers of mathematics could happily set their teeth to. Something also to answer those people who for months have been asking me, "What are you finding out—in a word?"

An honest word, an honest reply, requires retrospect, explanation, and particularly an understanding of the setting of the problem; a setting composed of geology and anthropology, history and industry, politics and psychology. Also it requires the determination of that precise point in the process of civilization where we happen now to be.

The Eighteenth Amendment is a distinctive American product. It grew on American soil. It is the child of the

rural district, offspring of the American farmer and the village church. For half a century before the passage of the amendment we had been experimenting with prohibition through local option and state laws. The idea of it was familiar to those who had been in this country for a number of generations and might, therefore, be called Americans. They were largely Nordics—a loose term taken here to mean people of English, Scotch, Welsh, Irish, German, and Scandinavian ancestry. It was their votes that put it through in the thirty-three states that went dry before the federal law was passed.

They must have grown to wish for prohibition under the conditions existing in this country, since practically none of them came from countries where it already existed. To be sure, these Americans wished for prohibition for widely different reasons. There was no common objective between the Mississippi planter who wanted to keep liquor away from Negro farm hands, and the Maine clergyman who thought rum was the devil's deputy. But they voted alike. And North and South, East and West, in Maine where the first prohibition law was passed, in Kansas, all through the American Belt, in New Mexico and Iowa, wherever the Americans of the earlier immigrations are still in control, our reports show that prohibition works.

But this willingness to observe this exclusively American law is not by any means common to all American groups. It is not characteristic of those living in the large industrial cities nor in the ocean ports. Here is a much more cosmopolitan way of life, conflicting standards, and a greater toleration of other ways as well as an itch to try new things. The Americans of the great cities are not standing conspicuously back of the enforce-

ment of the law; quite the contrary! But still for that great mass of Nordics who are living under conditions distinctive to the United States, who have developed their customs and ideas with a minimum of outside influence, the Eighteenth Amendment operates.

It is extremely doubtful if such a law would have been passed in the Colonies or by the original thirteen states in the early days of independence. At that time we were all immigrants but newly come from different folkways. Certainly our recent immigrants would not have voted for the amendment if they had had the chance and they do not willingly observe it now.

These reports show that practically every foreign group and the first generation born in this country are drinking now and are making their own beverages. So far as the social workers can see, prohibition is not working among them any better than it would have worked in the original thirteen states. The important thing to determine is whether they will change in this respect as the descendants of the original Colonists have changed; whether the conditions operating now will produce the same result on this slightly different human material that the conditions of the previous century produced.

These conditions are more substantial stuff than the swirling public opinion that started the inquiry. What are they?

The thing that stands out most conspicuously in the returns is that we are so rich. Our forbears were poor. Only through continuous toil and self-denial did they manage to survive. But we have time and the intent for pleasure. The Puritan idea has so far melted in the warmth of a pretty widely distributed surplus as to

break down a whole series of ancestral taboos. We have become able to see a wide range of not unattractive grays between the white of the total abstainer and the black of the gutter. Prohibition has slid off the moral plane and become a social and economic issue. One treats drinking differently when it is merely a wasteful way of using money or taking a chance with the law or a menace to health, and when it is a thing one may be "churched" for, or that "no gentleman" will do. In a country as rich as ours, a man who pays $1.25 for a drink is not necessarily taking the bread from his children's mouths. There are a few reports which show that economic conditions have remained about the same, or that the rising cost of living has balanced the advance in wages. One from Florida shows the economic slump after the collapse of the real-estate boom and the tornado. One from New Mexico shows the effect of a ten years' drought. Two show the real poverty and suffering among the ex-brewery workers. Another shows the economic stress of a group of Mexicans. Wages are low in the cotton-mill towns. But with these exceptions, the pæan of prosperity is a full chorus. Our economic background is inlaid with gold. Our psychology is that of a people having money to spend. We have attained Simon Patten's *Civilization of a Surplus*. What is the effect of riches on the observance of the Eighteenth Amendment?

And we have attained an actual physical detachment from localities, not only through railroads and airplanes, but through 23,000,000 automobiles. We are as far removed from our horse-riding grandfathers as the Russian aviator is from the Russian serf who was bound to the land. We know ourselves able to get away from our crimes and our failures and to pursue our pleasures

and our successes. We are less bound to face the consequences of our own acts than any people has ever been before. Does this detachment affect the enforcement of prohibition?

The new position of woman is part of the background. Society, having first reduced the work of wife and mother from a full-time to a half-time job and then through the rising standard of living and the mounting cost of things having tacitly refused to support her on this half-time basis, has seen the migration of a sex from the relatively personal plane of domesticity to the impersonal status of the gainfully employed. It has also seen her change to the status of a citizen. Free women are less inclined to stand for drunken husbands, and especially if they happen to have children. They are not so helpless as they were. The contentious fluid irks them as a home companion. On the other hand, they are now in exactly the same relation to alcohol that men are. They have jobs outside the home—millions of them—and they can pay for their own drinks if they want them. There seems little doubt that women are drinking more than they did. The religious restraints are gone, and the legal controls, like the New Orleans law which prohibited a woman from going into a saloon, are inoperative. Also, the social stigma of the Victorian era is removed. If a woman has a tendency to drink, there is nothing in the relation of her sex to society to prevent her doing so. But the restraints upon women's drinking have been removed not by the prohibition law, but by the times.

And to this freedom of women we must add the long-simmering revolt of the intellectuals against Puritanism —against any sort of dogmatic religion, or emotional outburst of altruism, against the accusation of being good

or pious, and against the long campaign of the evangelical churches in which getting converted was a preliminary to signing the pledge. In people's minds the two things are too closely tied together to keep out of each other's way. Was not prohibition a blue law? Are not blue laws fathered by the churches?

The fourth great factor in our present state of mind that bears directly on prohibition is the "post-war psychology." It is a hedge behind which we have acquired the habit of hiding. Have we not been told that after every war there comes an interval of lawlessness and disregard of authority? That the hang-over of conflict has always been crime? But this hedge has been broken through too often to shelter many of us. Behind the little remnant of the post-war hang-over there is no room to hide all the lawlessness that is prevalent today.

How does the Eighteenth Amendment look against this background of prosperity and freedom, growing detachment and irresponsibility, with the influence of the war as an excuse ready to everybody's hand? If, in this new state of civilization, we are continuing to drink, and many of us are, why are we doing it?

Not because life is hard, certainly. The need to drown our sorrows in the flowing bowl is not nearly so poignant as it was. We are, take it by and large, pretty comfortable, thank you, and growing better day by day. From coast to coast, from Canada to the Mexican border, the social workers tell of automobiles and homes, of silk stockings and insurance, of high school for the children and hospital care for the sick, of mounting savings and visits to the country—of the things the poor have dreamed of, being actually in their hands. There is no need in this country for any "misery drink-

ing." We have food and clothes and shelter to spare. But the habit of drinking to mitigate present ills may continue long after the ills themselves have disappeared.

Do we drink as an aid to work? Whether alcohol is a real help or not is beside the question. The truckman of the old Chelsea district in New York thinks he cannot start his day without a nip. The Danbury hatters believe drink to be a necessary part of their job—how else could they work under the incubus of "hatter's shakes"? All this may be mere rationalization. But what of that? It is none the less real and compelling. To them alcohol is an aid to work.

Two other reasons why men drink merge into one—a reward of merit and an incitement to pleasure. It is an age-old habit to offer a man a drink when he has done a good job, to drink the health of a guest, to offer a *pourboire* to the cabby who drives one well. Alcohol is not only a reward for exceptional service, but for the common, ordinary work of finishing the week's job. It is the way one rewards oneself. There used to be a song, "How pleasant is Saturday night when you've tried all the week to be good!" It was not a reputable song, but it embodied the idea. From the drinking at the week-end parties of the well to do, to the drinking of the Connecticut tobacco workers who come down into Hartford on Saturday night, alcohol is taken as a reward for the six days of labor.

Pleasure is a regard, too, and drink has been an incitement to it since the first grape fermented in the first clay bowl. The psychological explanation of the cocktail before dinner is that it relaxes the soul into easier standards and makes the dinner "go." And there is champagne so that the feet may be light on the dancing floor!

And wine to loosen the tongue to wit! This is the special hold alcohol has on youth, that it is an incitement to pleasure, a relaxation from the steady grind of speeded-up machinery in the factory or the routine of the white-collar job in the office. "Wine that maketh glad the heart of man"—and for the young is there any price too high to pay for a glad heart? This is the lure of the cabaret and of the hip flask.

There is another pleasure besides the direct consumption of alcohol and the subsequent relaxation; it is the pleasure one gets in the imitation of the class higher up, the pride in wearing the hall-mark of smartness by drinking and by serving drink, as one has been told that the "best people" do. Young men have a wish to be as daring as D'Artagnan and as fashionable as the Prince of Wales. The Broadway clerk whose hip flask is known to be available is by just that much in the same class as the scions of the great houses, and that his flask is as forbidden as piracy makes it all the more alluring. Youth has a wish to do forbidden things. The hold-up men of today are hardly out of their teens; neither are the bob-haired bandits, the unmarried mothers, and the great mass of protestants against the rigid "oughts" of society. Eve was very young when she ate that apple. But for the prohibition against it, might she not have preferred a peach or a plum? Everywhere the public cries out that the young people are drinking and in some places the records show that it is true.

So these are the reasons why we drink: because it is the custom of our race, because we have the habit, to drown our sorrows, to help our work, to improve our health, to be smart and do as those higher up do, to spur us to pleasure—or, just because we like the taste.

Then who drinks?

Again the young, whose drinking is an adventure, a gesture of daring, a sign of revolt, an illusion of power, part of the game they call life; and so far not habit forming nor a serious problem.

Then the professional objector who cries, "Liberty, liberty," and drinks not because alcohol is an adventure, but because, "By gum! I'd like to see any person who could stop me. I'll make it and I'll use it and I'll pay no fines. If they want to jail me, they can!" It is the cry of the Irish when they break the law, vociferously; of the Jew who is beginning to break it also. It is the cry of the professional Bohemian in all the Greenwich Villages in all the cities of the United States, where people are busy "expressing themselves" and getting a kick out of things which they think only very, very radical and, therefore, exceptional people do. And this is not an important class, nor has their cry of "Liberty, liberty" a menacing sound.

Then there are the old topers scattered sparsely from ocean to ocean. Social workers of Caspar and Boise City and Sioux Falls, of Topeka and St. Louis and Chicago, of Fall River and Baltimore and all the other cities, speak of them.

On a January night I walked through Chatham Square, which is on the edge of New York's Chinatown. They were still there, the bums and derelicts, as I had seen them before the passage of the amendment, still plodding about in the black ooze of the melting snow—a man with a wooden leg pegging uncertainly on ahead of me; a pale, emaciated old skeleton of a man leaning against a doorway; a bloated thing in rags swaying timorously

at the crossing—terrible pictures of the last stages! I went down to Hudson Guild on a gay, fresh afternoon in mid-July. A man clinging to a lamp-post wept passionately; a singing woman caught at my arm. Opposite the Guild is an arid, open spot, fitted with wooden seats, that calls itself a park. There were six bedraggled, bleared old women and perhaps three times as many drunken men in it. Over to Hell's Kitchen on a hot August night—a man, limp on a doorstep, being badgered by laughing children; another following a tortuous path from ash can to area railing and back again. But among them all, not one young man or woman! The problems of the old soon settle themselves.

The foreign born and the American born of foreign parentage are another group who drink. Nobody who comes to this country has been used to prohibition at home, nor had his fathers before him. If they didn't use alcohol, it was purely by personal preference. That group has so far been unable to understand why we Americans want prohibition, anyway. They take it to be a form of semi-religious fanaticism. Alcohol is to them part of the food supply, of their joyous festivities, sometimes of their religious ceremonials, as it still is at many of ours. Merely by removal across a border or an ocean, these habits are not changed. These immigrants, Mediterranean, Nordic, and Levantine, tend to follow their folkways in this new land, each after his own kind. Their drinking is the same problem in America as it is in Italy, or Ireland, or Sweden, or France. We are wrestling with our share in the collective race situation. But that, again, is not overwhelmingly serious. We were all aliens once; we all came from wet countries; and since as a nation we have decided not to drink alcohol,

there is no reason why the newer aliens cannot be brought to the same decision. As a matter of fact, there are signs here and there that this very thing is happening.

I talked with a public-school teacher in one of the southern suburbs of Chicago where there is a district almost exclusively Italian.

"When I first taught down here," she told me, "I got a group of ladies in Chicago to send us boxes of clothes in the old Lady Bountiful way—the children needed them so terribly! Now these boxes keep coming, but I can't find anyone to give the clothes to. It is partly good wages, of course, but it is partly, also, that their habits are changing. There is Mike Spoleti, who used to be in my classes. Three years ago he told me his father had to have wine every day, so he made about five hundred gallons. That same year he began buying an automobile on the installment plan. The next year, just when it was time to make wine, there came some lovely weather after a long spell of rain. They all went riding in the new car evenings and Sundays and only a little more than one hundred gallons were made. And this year Mike said to me: 'So warm, so good roads everywhere. My father not bother to make wine, only little, maybe ten gallons for God's birthday at Christmas. Just ride, ride in country, all the time.' "

There are other cases where the rivals of alcohol seem to be winning out.

"Insignificant in numbers," writes Charles C. Cooper of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, "but important in showing, perhaps, the beginning of a new attitude on the part of American-Italians is the fact that there have been several Italian weddings in the settlement at none of which wine was served. When one realizes that these in-

significantly few instances mark a divergence from hallowed custom, sanctioned by centuries, one understands the real meaning of their occurrence. These were not *Italian* weddings, but Italians marrying in America and under an American law."

Obviously, the drink habits of the foreigners are not an insuperable barrier to the operation of the amendment.

The real menace comes out of our American life itself, out of our riches and our advancing cosmopolitanism and our characteristic lawlessness. It is the demand for liquor by the rich American which supports the bootlegger and is the real jeopardy of the family and neighborhood life of the unprivileged. From the cities in the Great Lakes basin, from the big steel centers, from the Pacific and the Atlantic ports, wherever the proportion of unassimilated people is high and the social ideals are European rather than American, come complaints of the patrons of this illicit trade; of those who buy twenty dollar a quart whisky and one dollar a bottle beer, and wine at any price, of those that keep the synthetic-gin men busy, who are willing to meet the flitting bootlegger in the twilight of the alley to get something to spike their near-beer with. For it is not for home consumption that children "tend stills" in the tenements. No rum-runner operates to supply the thirst of the man who earns four dollars a day.

It was on the 2d of August that I dined at one of the New York City settlement houses and learned what this demand of the rich did to the neighborhoods of the poor. They told me about that new thing in the history of alcohol—the "first-floor flat." The saloons were ostensibly closed on January 16, 1920, and after they found that enforcement might perhaps not be so serious a thing

as they had feared, the former barkeepers, instead of the social workers, began to establish substitutes for the saloon. A candy store at a corner was a good beginning. The children were charged so much more than the current rate that they left the place to their elders, who knew how to slip into a back room and ask for what they wanted. But even these were too easy to spot and the "first-floor flat" took their place. It works this way: a family rents a flat and then moves into the back room of it. In the front room some one, possibly the father of the family, possibly some one under the guise of a lodger, establishes a speak-easy. They don't make the liquor themselves; the Greeks, the Lithuanians, and the Croatins of the neighborhood, the Italians and, more recently, the Jews make it and smuggle it in. The people in the front rooms of the flat sell it, usually by the bottle, and word goes out about it by that strange underground wireless which has sprung up to connect such districts with the rest of the town, for the people who drink these concoctions come from well-to-do "uptown."

The head resident invited in the wife of a janitor in a neighboring building with a "first-floor flat." She was young and neat as a pin; her hair was short and brushed fashionably flat, and she had with her her small black-eyed son.

"Oh, it's terrible the way things is now," she said, "and I will say that I think it's worse than they wus before. No, ma'am, it's not our people that are drinking so much. It's the rich bums that come from outside. Say, you'd be surprised the terrible women that you see. No, they're not so young, and they're not so old, either—they're just terrible! But what I hate worse about it is the way it's so

nasty. . . . Oh, it's a terrible thing for the children. I wouldn't dare live here if my husband wasn't pretty quick with his hands. There ain't a day passes that he don't have to go throw them out of the alleyway. It wouldn't be so bad if they just could go and sleep it off. This stuff you know ain't like the old stuff; it knocks 'em flat sudden.

"It used to be some lively down here before prohibition, but that was our own people and you could say to them, 'Jim, you go along home to Maggie 'til you get sobered up.' But these rich bums, you don't know where to tell 'em to go. And what help do you get from the police? Why, when I have to go out in the evening to do my marketing, my husband he stands at the door and watches me down to the store and back again. It didn't used to be like that when it was only our own people."

I went along to the next block. It was a quiet block; lights were on in the "first-floor flats" all along the way, and the street on both sides was thick with parked automobiles, the autombiles of those outsiders who had come to drink. The drink problem of the neighborhood since prohibition is not the problem of its residents, but the problem of its visitors. It is not always a problem of intoxication, but a problem of filth, a problem of what the children who live in the first-floor flats see and hear, a problem of sanitation, a problem of the safety of women.

Along about eleven o'clock things began to liven up. The theaters were closing; motors and taxis wandered inquiringly along the street. In places the parking was two deep instead of one. Nobody abroad but those who had some interest in it as a place to exploit, either alco-

holically or sexually or economically. I took a taxi home.

This situation is not peculiar to New York. The records show it in Chicago and Boston; they show it in Louisiana and Rhode Island, and even in the South.

The other menace in the situation is the corruption of officials through which this drinking of the rich is made possible. I am not going to give names or localities, for the perfectly obvious reason that those who have contributed information to the study may suffer in consequence. There is no fact given here, however, that is not from a signed statement in the possession of the committee.

"Take Nan's and Murphy's places; they pay three different people for protection. I watch the cars come up here every week and park, while the men from the Police Department go across the street to collect. There's the district, the lieutenant, and headquarters all to pay."

Mrs. Flaherty said: "No, indeed, I didn't vote for ——. I don't believe in bootleggers. I know the other man ain't any too good, but he is wet and I'm sick of prohibition. Why, I got up the other morning at four o'clock and looked out at them chemical works across the way, and there were two plain-clothes men I knew, standing at each corner looking down the streets, and two cops helping unload that stuff from the cellar of the chemical works. When I looked out my door they poked their heads in the automobile so I wouldn't be seeing who they were, but I just stood there until they had to put their heads out. The next day they came up to ask me if I was going to squeal on them. I said, 'No, but I have a mind to for your trying to hide on me.' "

"Awhile ago, we had a very decent young policeman on the beat," another worker in another city told me. "He was, as a matter of fact, too good for the job that he was expected to do. He said to me one day, 'I could do something about it, maybe, if it wasn't for the way everybody laughs about booze. You take up any of the papers and they're all joshing the man that doesn't drink and making fun of the law. And you go to the movies and they do the same thing, and there's hardly a voodevill you see where they don't make a joke about getting drunk. Well, what am I going to do? Suppose I run 'em in here, and get 'em up to the court, the chances are pretty good that the judge laughs, too, and dismisses the case. And then, if he sends them up it's only five weeks, and I find them back on the benches again. What are you going to do when everybody laughs and joshes you?"

From still another city comes this: "The economic rivalry is complicated because the entire business is illegal and, therefore, dependent upon methods of successful corruption. The political influence which the whisky ring formerly brought to bear upon state legislatures and Congress has become decentralized and is now felt by the patrolman on the beat and his superiors, extending, also, to prosecutors and even to the judiciary itself."

And from another place: "The violators are politically protected by weekly bribes, so-called 'hush money' that is regularly paid to a collector who may be a division leader, or even a policeman. In —— the magistrate system renders it especially easy to have a case thrown out before it reaches any responsible court officers. What raids are made are punishment for nonpayment of bribes, or else upon some ignorant foreigner with a small estab-

lishment, while the larger operators are free and fully protected.

"Bootlegging here is widespread, police coöperation impossible to get. One bootlegger has been complained of and raided nineteen times; he still continues."

These are a very few of the stories told in the reports and they come from practically all of the great cities—a damning collection of evidence. Of course, the obvious fact is that there is a far greater opportunity for official graft now than before the amendment was passed, for the whole traffic is illicit from manufacturer to consumer. In order to operate at all, everyone from start to finish needs protection—and all along the line they are able to pay for it. This official corruption is not difficult to understand—public officials are also human beings of like passions with the rest of us. They have frequently little sympathy with the law; they are not exorbitantly paid and they know that in many places public opinion is more strongly against than for enforcement. But the thing is terribly serious, for bootlegging in some cities has developed into a guerilla warfare between factions, and murder and banditry have followed in its train. There is no denying the fact that since the whole liquor trade is without the law, it could not have reached its present size and elaborate organization if it had been vigilantly hunted from pillar to post. But who is to do the hunting where the state does not back up the federal law, or where the local officials feel that to send in federal officers is an aspersion on them.

And yet, in spite of everything, the saloons are gone, 171,000 of them. This fact is not fully realized and the profound social change that it implies.

It is true that again and again social workers have re-

ported, "The saloons are running"; "Liquor is sold openly"; and that in nearly every city which I visited some one said: "Say, the other day a friend of mine asked a policeman where he could get a drink. 'You see that second turn to the left?' the cop told him. 'Well, you go down there till you come to an old house with a broken gate where an old nigger woman lives—that's the only place you can't get it.'" This is the GREAT AMERICAN RUM STORY. It has crossed the continent and come back again, and some people believe it. But the selling of liquor as an authorized, legalized activity in the community is gone. It is no longer possible to get a drink merely by going through the nearest swinging doors. It takes some pains to find a place where they will serve you wine with dinner, even in a teapot, for there is no sign over the door advertising the fact. Only with considerable effort can one ferret out a really reliable bootlegger. Even the speak-easies are not so listed in the classified telephone directory. Blind tigers, kitchen barrooms, "first-floor flats," "drinkeries," and all the other places where liquor is to be had must be hunted for. The trade is furtive; it plays in and out of the dark. The bootlegger of today is quite a different person from the old saloon keeper; he may be higher or lower in the social scale (this study has shown cases of both kinds), but he is without the law. This is the risk that he is paid for; without it he would have to seek another job.

Long before the amendment was passed, I heard one of the "Gray Wolves" say in the Common Council of Chicago, "Misther Chairman, I rise to defind the downthrodden saloon keeper." Even a "Gray Wolf" would not do that now.

There have come in these reports accounts of boys

wearing short trousers as a blind to the enforcement officers, who support dependent mothers, buy shoes for little sister, and put themselves through college by driving liquor-loaded vans into the great cities. The prices they are paid for this service vary beyond belief, and probably depend on the demand and the risk. Twenty-five dollars will bring a load from a near-by suburb into New York City. It costs $1,000 a load from Indiana into Chicago. From the cities of the Great Lakes basin, the port cities, and the industrial centers, come accounts of bootleggers who are getting rich. As a balance against this, from all over the Northwest have come statements of the poor bootleggers whose families are supported by public charity while they languish in jail.

There are said to be many women in the business. For them it is a new occupation. They are both bootleggers and carriers. In Pittsburgh, I first heard about this carrying trade. The foreign-born women were said to be conveying it under their shawls for one dollar a gallon. Later I met accounts of it in other places, with various rates of payment; nowhere, however, any higher rate than this. A fortnight ago I met it in New York. I was waiting for a delayed subway train at ten in the morning. "Why are they so late? The crowd is gone," said a stout, shabby woman beside me. "That's why I come now. I have bankers' hours, but I get worker's pay —ten to three."

"What do you do?" I asked her.

"Oh, I carry the stuff, but I'm scared to do it when the subway's so packed."

The suit case she carried pulled heavily from the handle, and as she eased it tenderly into the train there was a clink of glass on glass.

The situation of the Negro bootlegger is different from either of these. Says Mr. W. P. Dabney of the Cincinnati group: "Stills abound in the Black Belt, a downtown section composed mainly of laborers, sports, and floaters as well as reputable citizens. Hundreds of its inhabitants have made money handling moonshine whisky, and its sale in buffet flats and at private parties is enormous. The evasion of the Eighteenth Amendment is looked upon with pride and rarely is any exposure made of those engaged in the traffic. An impartial investigation of conditions among the colored people of Cincinnati will show that the present prosperity of many citizens can be attributed to higher wages, new positions, better employment, and bootlegging, rather than to prohibition."

Whether because the white race has made such strenuous efforts to keep alcohol from the Negro, enacting state prohibition laws throughout the South and enforcing them pretty effectively on the black race, or whether alcohol does not tempt the Negroes as a whole, or whether their wages are still too low to afford the high cost of liquor, is beside the point. Our records so far as they go show that Negroes as a whole are not drinking, that for them personally prohibition works.

Dr. Alain Locke interprets the situation among his people: "I do not know that the Negro has very much to gain from an evenly administered and enlightened temperance enforcement, but feel that, in common with the poor man, but to a greater proportional degree, the Negro has borne in several ways the unjust brunt of the conditions produced by our present system of administration of the Eighteenth Amendment. Negro districts, both rural and urban, are regarded as the logical 'dumps' for

the worst and most harmful of the substitute concoctions; Negroes are enlisted in the most dangerous phases of the liquor traffic—the disposal to the retail customer.

"In many of the larger cities bootlegging has offered an especial attraction to Negroes who are so generally shut out from quick-money activities and the speculative chances in business. I have heard of many instances where its economic chances have been accepted along with the large risk as the 'only chance' to get a start, and justified as such; and a considerable number of property investments and transfers to legitimate business in such cases would seem to suggest a special economic motive and pull due to thwarted expression in legitimate business activity.

"Belonging so largely to the evangelical denominations, temperance has a personal and religious sanction, primarily, for the average 'respectable' Negro; legal and social welfare standards have for him a very secondary and limited appeal. Temperance is regarded more as a matter of a personal pledge and a duty as a 'church member' than as a matter of law and duty as a citizen. This does not account, however, for the failure of the modern scientific and social appeal on this issue to affect any very considerable reaction from the thinking Negro. To him the raising of so much discussion and controversy and the expenditure of so many millions in the federal enforcement of a constitutional amendment when there is so little public conscience and effort over the flagrant nonenforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, that nominally guarantee civic liberties and citizenship rights of the Negro, make this question of the Eighteenth Amendment appear to him either a gigantic hypocrisy or a typical American inconsistency. This

attitude quite nullifies his normal reaction as an enlightened citizen on this particular question.

"Considering this inevitable attitude, prohibition sentiment and interest among Negroes is really exceptional in spite of its admittedly limited amount and extent. What there is has overcome this great dilemma, and in doing so has had to take relatively higher and more impersonal moral ground than the same attitude on the part of an average citizen."

Strange people are linked up with bootlegging. The reports agree on the keepers of candy stores, garages, drug stores, groceries, and the like; but there are other occupations—undertakers, garbage collectors, street cleaners, old-clothes men, carnival troupes, ex-drunkards and ex-criminals, beauty parlors, and barber shops.

These are the people who carry it about and sell it. Who makes it? The foreigner who has always done it and Americans who have learned how. During the first few years after prohibition, the American amateur made it poorly, but his skill improved. Recipes for wine making were brought from France, Italy, and Greece and handed about; there were new ways of telling when the fermentation had gone far enough. There was a great sale of kegs throughout the country and people clubbed together to buy wine presses and stills. Sometimes they soaked the mash in the bathtub. But wine making is a great deal of bother, the brewing of beer is a tedious occupation, and to watch the still is a day-and-night job. The Americans have grown tired of this; the novelty and the romance have worn off. The wine, the beer, and the hard liquor they make are better in quality but less in quantity.

The old moonshiners in the mountains are still at

work; they are making it in Kentucky and Tennessee; they are making it in Colorado; they are making a little bit even in New England and up above dry Spokane. This is the same sort of lawbreaking that the revenue officers have fought in the back valleys of the hills for fifty years. It is not half so dangerous, socially or physiologically, nor so important as the new group of moonshiners in the tenements. We have records of this tenement manufacture from Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and Greater New York. And in these cities the industry is a dangerous and a menacing thing. It is the source of an unexampled number of fires in the crowded quarters; there are explosions and people injured; and children in the home are taught to "tend still" as they once tended the bobbins in the mill. It is a new form of child labor of a most dangerous sort —a real social menace.

Then there is the commercial group who are making it as a business, out of raw alcohol and flavoring extracts, and kerosene and turpentine and canned heat and coloring matter. There is no sort of fraud that they are not using at the present time, and they are absolutely safe from prosecution since all those who buy are also without the law. I have seen the confiscated packsaddles in which the liquor is supposed to come down from Canada and which were captured while they were being loaded with fresh brew manufactured one hundred miles south of the border.

Down in New Jersey a brand of liquor is on the market with French labels, made well to the west of the Atlantic coast. Boston has, perhaps, the most flagrant examples that have come in the reports. Much less than is believed is getting over the border. *Caveat emptor!*

All this lawbreaking being admitted, what are the results that may be attributed to prohibition? The whole country is, as it were, blanketed with prosperity. Primary poverty, which means that people are hungry and cold and homeless, has been almost eliminated from the cities of the United States. How much of that is due to prohibition no one can tell but it has certainly accompanied the operation of the law. Health is better. The testimony on this is not quite so universal as the testimony on prosperity, but it is there. Cities report fewer people in the alcoholic wards and great decrease in alcoholic psychoses. Many places report closing of the liquor cures. Many doctors state that diseases supposed to be due to alcohol have diminished. There is a lack of "clinical material" on cirrhosis of the liver.

Dr. Maximilian Schulman, for many years in charge of the home service of the Vanderbilt Clinic in New York City says that cases of acute and chronic alcoholism have practically disappeared from the medical service of Vanderbilt Clinic, whereas in pre-prohibition days these were very common; and he adds, "Whatever prohibition may have done for the idle rich, it certainly has done well for the laboring poor."

From all over the country comes the statement that there is practically no drunkenness on the streets, and this not only from dry places, but from spots that are supposed to be "ankle-deep in rum."

And education is increasing. From three widely separated cities comes the report of a sudden increase in school attendance since the passage of the amendment, of crowded high schools and important additions to the building programs of the school boards. Also, there has been a long period of steady work. Whether this is

because of prosperity or because of the amendment is a subject of controversy, but that men work more steadily since the amendment is testified to by employers everywhere. We have many statements from employers saying that Monday morning, which used to be a slack time with men off for the week-end hang-over, is now just like any other day.

"I don't believe in prohibition," said an official in a trucking company; "the government has no right to tell a man what he shall or shall not drink. But it is a fact that before the law it was my job on Saturday night to go around and collect our truck horses where the drivers left them outside the saloons; and I always spent Monday morning in the office receiving the wives of my truckers who came to say: 'Well, Dan drunk it all up Saturday night. Will you help us through till next week?' Now I don't believe in prohibition; the government has no right to tell a man what he shall or shall not drink; but I'm an honest man and I haven't had to do either of those things since the amendment was passed." And this in wet New York City!

Taking before and after, here is about the worst that pre-prohibition days could offer in a picture of the old West Side—a part of the water front along the Hudson River in New York. There were no other pictures to match this, though the elements that make it are found in reports from many places. But this sort of thing, sometimes exaggerated in the telling, is what made the Eighteenth Amendment possible. Not wine for dinner, nor beer for lunch, nor the good-night toddy at bedtime lined up the white South, the Northwest, Kansas, Maine, and the rest on the side of prohibition, but such things as Mr. Mark McCloskey tells of Saturday night and

Monday morning before prohibition—such things and the fear of them:

"Preparation for Saturday night on the west water front began on Friday afternoon when the burly brewery drivers drove in their big horses and loads of big kegs. There were two mysteries for children. How the saloon cellar could hold the endless procession of kegs and how the beer got from the kegs to the burnished brass handles on the bar. Where the beer went from that place was no mystery. One simply had to sit on the steps and look in under the swinging door.

"On Saturday morning children helped their mothers put the house in shape and janitresses scrubbed the stairs from the 'roof to the cellar. In the afternoon women put on white aprons with wide hems, the children were called in from the streets to 'put on clean clothes before your father comes home.'

"Efficient restaurants were never better prepared for the dinner rush than the bartenders were for the Saturday-night jam. Beer glasses filled on the bar, quarter bottles of whisky filled from the hogsheads, the shelves in back of the bar lined with pints and half pints to take home, the free-lunch counter well stocked lest hunger tempt one home for supper, and a slate with the week's tally of drinks hung up prominently exhibited.

"From the foundry, dock, stable, and factory men converged at the bar, while hundreds of women grew impatient and nagged the children, for they knew that the money they would get was in inverse proportion to the hours that elapse after five o'clock. As the strain increases, children are sent off to 'go to the corner to see if you can get your father.' Some hardier women

send word to the bartender that if their husbands are not sent out they will go in and make a scene.

"Couples come home; sometimes the husband is jovial, sometimes nasty. He threatens to 'break her jaw' for making a show of him on the street. A running argument is carried on and all the time the children trail at a respectful distance. The disappointment that is felt when what is left of the money is handed over adds fuel to the fire and the struggle is on.

"By night the sense of neighborhood cleaning up is gone. The shopkeepers, despairing of collecting more money, put up their blinds. Only the saloons are open. The hardest drinkers stick it out as long as they can stand and have money. Here and there, a drunk rolls home unsteadily, while young thieves hang out in hallways waiting for a chance to 'stiff arm' their prey.

"Sunday morning brings quiet. The bartenders come on about noon. Slowly the back room fills up with those who want hard liquor. Constant trips of the beer can are made to the corner to satisfy those who cannot dress themselves to come out, and the bartenders shuttle back and forth between the back room and the bar with the same monotony that the hanger-on carries cans from the side door to the barroom. The crowd in the back room increases as night falls on the neighborhood again.

"Monday morning and work, but not for everybody. Factories with furnaces up but a third, molders out, horses idle in stalls, while boss truckmen bang on tenement doors to get the drivers out and men on the job suffer from nasty 'hang-overs.' Truckmen on the streets curse one another in fancy style.

"The old West Side punished itself with liquor on Saturday night and paid the penalty on Monday morning.

"Is this the case today? In spite of the presence of innumerable speak-easies and the production of great quantities of home brew, men do get on the job Monday mornings. Tenement-house brawls are few and far between. The 'Coffee Pots' are the meeting place of taxi and truck drivers.

"Pawnshops are places to store winter clothes and to realize on stolen goods; not the place to hock the Sunday suit and the wedding presents.

"The policeman who has walked the beat for years will tell you that he hasn't had to manhandle a wife beater in an age.

"Speak-easies and blind pigs there are on the West Side, but the continual Saturday-night drunk and Monday-morning head are gone."

Employers everywhere are agreed that the law is a great benefit to the workingmen and a great aid to efficient operation of industry. They are for it.

Another thing that has changed in our great cities since the amendment is prostitution. Its rapid decrease marks startling and uniform changes in the past ten years. Report after report says that disorderly houses are gone and there is practically no solicitation on the streets. Before the passage of the law, liquor was sold in the disorderly houses at a very high price—beer at one dollar a bottle and whisky and champagne at a corresponding increase. Not only was this a source of revenue, but it was also an attraction. Our committee, meeting in New York in January, agreed that commercialized prostitution as a social problem has practically disappeared. Is this due to prohibition? Probably only in part, although some of the reports insist that it is the sole reason. The modern freedom between the sexes,

the knowledge of contraceptive devices, and the use of the automobile bear directly on this problem. The country road houses are easily reached; they are freer from supervision even than the city resorts. When they do not sell liquor, it is at least possible for a man to carry his flask with him. Instead of prostitution we have license. It is one of the problems of liberty which has not yet been solved.

Again and again we come around to this question of the automobile. Its relation to prohibition is twofold: It makes quick transportation of the liquor supply very easy and relatively cheap. It also makes it possible to go long distances quickly to get a drink. As the mayor of Boise City said, "No way has ever been invented of so quickly erasing the criminal from the scene of his crime as the automobile. On the other hand, it is perhaps the most deadly rival of alcohol." Judge Elliott of Sioux Falls says that "gasoline and alcohol will not mix" and what he says is echoed from town to town. It is a question of whether one prefers a hip flask to a motor.

The results that seem to be directly due to prohibition are that the lower wage group has profited everywhere; that business and production have profited; also, that in general the business men and the manufacturers are so well satisfied with the economic results as to be in favor of the law; that open temptation is kept away from the young and the weak and that the general feeling about the saloons is "good riddance to bad rubbish."

I have tried to disregard dead issues. When people have written, as they have frequently, that what they are for is temperance, I have regretfully filed their letters in a desk drawer called the morgue. In the face of

a law absolutely prohibiting the use of alcohol as a beverage the question of using it temperately has become as academic as the building code of Sparta. When social workers have insisted that we ought to have tried the Canadian system or perhaps the methods of the Bashuto tribes, I have added their remarks to the collection in the morgue, for the system we actually did select from all other possible systems is the one this study is about. And when other people have offered to provide statistics, I have covertly discouraged them—have, indeed, opened the way to their redoing their statistical material back into the human elements it is composed of. Not that I undervalue statistics—far from it! They are a lightning-proof shelter in time of storm and may be terribly longed for when this book is off the press. But the intent of this study is to deal with humanity before it gets into the statistical stage. If a statistic has eluded me here and there, be sure that it came clinging to the hem of somebody's questionnaire and did not drive boldly in under its own steam.

When I am invited to "look at the way the rich are drinking," I have complied with tepid enthusiasm. This is not a study of the rich. When it is intimated that insane asylums and prisons keep accurate records, I have failed to follow up the suggestion. This is not a study of the insane or the criminal. I make these statements of the limitations of the study not to be amusing, but in self-defense.

What the study does cover is the neighborhoods which the social workers know. These are always among the poor and the lower middle class, always in cities or towns. Where the cities are infrequent dots on vast rural areas, the material for this study is extremely thin; where one

metropolis shoulders another metropolis with never a grass blade between there is more material than would fill a dozen books. The bald spots in the book are where the population, too, is thin. And the settlement neighborhoods are bound to show the prohibition problems intensified. If one man in a thousand staggers on the street—it may mean three to the block in New York's East Side and thousands looking on—the same proportion would mean five in the whole city of Clarinda, Iowa, and maybe only a passing robin the wiser anyway. It is as though the old dumb-bell tenements of the East Side—four families to a floor, twenty families to a building—were taken as typical of the housing in Manhattan.

What this study does show is the circumstances under which the law is operating satisfactorily; wherever there is a Nordic-American population which for several generations has not been in close contact with the newer immigrations or the cosmopolitanism of the great cities, there prohibition works. This is true in general in the northwest, is true in general in the South and in Maine and in parts of the Mississippi Valley. Wherever there are large unassimilated foreign populations accustomed to the making and use of alcoholic drinks and also an eager market for their product, as in the great ports and the industrial cities, there the law is halting and veering and difficult to apply.

But the reports do show that all of the things hoped for by the advocates of prohibition are being realized in some places and that even where the law is least observed, some of them have come true.

* * *

MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE

CHAPTER XX

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS

A STUDY OF PROHIBITION

QUESTIONNAIRE

THIS questionnaire does not call for "yes" or "no" answers, but for detailed, descriptive information as accurate as you can make it and graphic enough to make the reader understand the kind of people you are talking about and the conditions under which they live. Whenever possible make your answers the records of individual experiences and realistic pictures of family life as it has been affected by drink—or the lack of it—since the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.

In order to paint a clear picture of the present it is necessary to show the background of the past.

I. *Before war-time prohibition and the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment.*
(Give a word picture of your neighborhood before 1918, showing both the good and bad rôles that alcohol played in it.)

(a) Was alcohol an important or a minor cause of poverty or social hardship? In what specific ways?

(b) Had it any definite relation to the mothers of

young children going to work, or to the age at which children left school?

(c) Was the "demon rum" as a disturber of domestic peace a reality or a creation of temperance propaganda?

(d) Was the saloon a hotbed of crime and disorder, and a source of family quarrels, or a cheerful meeting place offering welcome and first aid in the assimilation of the immigrant?

(e) Was there any connection between the saloonkeeper and the ward boss? What was it?

(f) Had drinking anything to do with the disreputable dance halls? with commercialized vice? with gambling?

(g) Did alcohol promote or discourage the growth of a neighborly and civic spirit?

(h) What elements, good or bad, did it provide that have since disappeared from your neighborhood?

II. *The period between 1918 and 1921, when in general the prohibition law seems to have been more fully observed than it is now.*

(1) Was there any change in the general happiness and well-being or in the amount of poverty in your neighborhood?

(a) If so, do you think it was because less money was spent on drink or because wages were high and employment steady?

(Give some family histories to show why you believe as you do. Get the opinions of leading employers, public officials and

others in the neighborhood whose judgment is based on personal experience.)

(b) What changes did you notice in regard to child labor and truancy?

(c) What do the dentists and doctors say about the number of cases that came to them and about the payment of their bills?

(d) Ask the school teachers if there was any change in the amount of coöperation given them by the parents.

(e) Is it your impression that there were as many deserting fathers, cases brought before the Court of Domestic Relations, as many children removed from parental custody? Did such cases as there were tend to be different in character?

(Give examples to illustrate your impressions, and give the opinions of reliable officials in the neighborhood, as well as your own. Consult the child-placing agencies and the S. P. C. C.

2. (a) There is a general impression that the mortality of infants under one year is higher for the children of alcoholics than for the rest of the population. Did your observation tend to contradict or agree with this?

(b) Was there any change in the proportion of industrial accidents to fathers of families? Did doctors, hospitals and clinics notice a difference in prevalent complaints which they explain with changed drink habits? (What do the health records of your city show?)

(c) It has been claimed that during this period the use of drugs largely increased. Did your observation tend to prove or disprove this?

3. (a) Was there any change in the kind or amount of crime and disorder? What is your impression, and what do the local police records show?
   (b) Was there any change in the number of women on the streets or in the number of disorderly houses?
   (c) Did anything take the place of the dance halls where drink was sold?
4. (a) What did the different national and race groups say about the effect of prohibition enforcement upon them?
   (b) How did they react to it in personal and group behavior?
5. If families in general had more money to spend, what did they spend it for?
6. What took the place of the saloon—
   (a) as a political center, if it was one in your neighborhood?
   (b) as a social meeting place and a center of recreation?
   (c) What part did your settlement take in creating a substitute for it?

III. *The period from 1921 to the present (when there is said to be widespread disregard of the Eighteenth Amendment).*

1. Do you believe that there is bootlegging and illicit manufacture in your neighbor-

hood? On what do you base your belief? If there is, how does this fact affect—

(a) The prevalence of poverty? How much of the poverty do you believe to be dependent on the industrial situation and other causes, and how much on the use of alcohol?

(b) Do you notice any change in the proportion of working children and working mothers?

(c) If the families of the bootleggers are increasingly prosperous, what of the rest of the neighbors? Can they afford better clothes, food, and more recreation? Is the general well-being of the group higher or lower?

(d) What are the common amusements and recreations now enjoyed as compared with other times?

(Give several examples of families who are economically affected by the disregard of the law one way or another.)

2. (a) Do the more poisonous drinks now available in any way affect the general health of your neighborhood?

(b) Do more children die in their first year than in the period between 1918 and 1921? (Get any statistics available in your neighborhood.)

(c) As many as before the passage of the amendment?

(Give the opinions of doctors and nurses as well as your own.)

(d) Is there a return to a prevalence of pre-

prohibition diseases and causes of death specifically due to drink?

(e) Compare the provision for sickness, the use of hospitals and nurses with the period before 1918.

3. (a) Aside from the lawlessness involved in the nonobservance of the amendment, have you noticed any changes in the amount and nature of crime and disorder? Has the passage of the amendment made any difference one way or another?

(b) Have you any reason to believe that in your neighborhood vice and prostitution have become integrated with bootlegging? What part does the cheap automobile play in the situation?

(Give family stories to illustrate this.)

(c) What is the effect of the present situation on the drinking of minors, both boys and girls, to whom it was unlawful to sell alcohol before the passage of the amendment? Is there a feeling among them that to drink in defiance of the law is a daring and sporting thing to do? Are there any movements among the young people themselves to counteract this tendency?

4. How do the particular religious observances and the racial character of your neighborhood affect the nonobservance of the law? What do the different groups say about it and what do they do?

5. What is the political significance of the present disregard of the amendment? Are

the violators in your neighborhood politically protected? If they are, by what method? Do they appear to be connected with any political ring or party?

(If possible, talk this over with the political boss of your district.)

6. What changes in attitude toward drink have occurred in the different neighborhood groups?

(a) How do the mothers' clubs feel about it? (Call a special meeting and get their opinions in their own words. Ask them how the different members of their families feel about it and try to discover whether their opinions have changed since the passage of the amendment.)

(b) Ask the associations of men and boys similar questions.

(c) Discuss the matter with the groups in the summer camps.

(d) Get the opinion of the settlement residents as a group as to any change of attitude in the neighborhoods. Be sure they have a basis of comparison.

(e) Note particularly differences in the attitude of the two sexes, and of different occupational, political, racial, national, religious, and age groups represented in the neighborhood.

7. Please give a number of typical family histories to show what the effect of the nonobservance of the law has been—whether there is more or less prosperity, more or

less happiness, health and general well-being—whether the moral attitudes are changed, and in what direction.

IV. In conclusion, write what you as a settlement resident think of the situation. Please give any information which seems to you important in any way, and any individual experiences which will help the public to see it as you do.

If you cannot reply adequately to all these questions, please send as much of the information and as many facts as you can.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

ALABAMA:

Florence—Associated Charities, Louise R. Jolly.

ARIZONA:

Phoenix—Social Service Center, Mrs. W. G. Elder.

CALIFORNIA:

Los Angeles—Adult Probation Dept., Carl L. May.
Juvenile Protective Assn., Louise Drury.
Los Angeles Settlement Assn., Bessie B. Stoddart.
Judge of Superior Court, Carlos S. Hardy.
Supt. of Adult Education, Ethel Richardson.
Social Service, Community and Home Teacher Service.

San Francisco—Canon Kip Community House, Rev. J. Henry Ohlhoff.
Community Service Center (Booker T. Washington).
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